

THE CITY OF AJMER DURING LATER
YEARS OF AURANGZEB'S REIGN—1678-1707

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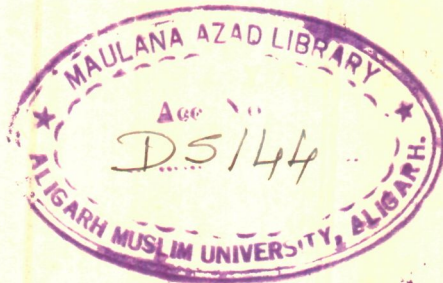
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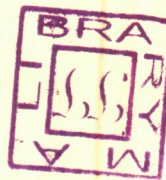
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Syed Liyaqat Husain Moini

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P R E F A C E

This study is devoted to a detailed analysis of the political history of the city of Ajmer and the inner working of local administrative structure in all of its ramifying branches during the second half of Aurangzeb's reign. It also examines some distinct facets of social and religious life of the people of Ajmer. These problems are discussed in the perspective of changes and developments that took place in the first two decades of his rule. The work is mainly based on Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, a diary of a news-writer, containing a minute account of political and military events and official transactions. The diary forms the primary source of information for the main subject-matter of the thesis. But it suffers from some basic deficiencies. It does not deal with the culture patterns, social mores, customs and economic conditions of the people, nor does it throw light on the progress of arts, crafts and literature in the city. Such a kind of information is neither gleaned from contemporary chronicles ^{or} ~~and~~ foreign travellers' accounts. Moreover, no historical or literary works were compiled in Ajmer that could have supplied material to enable scholars and popular writers to construct its history. No Rajput chieftain or foreign conqueror had made Ajmer the seat of his dynastic kingdom under whose patronage the art of history-writing would have flourished

or ^{the} court served as a repository of a large number of royal farmans, official correspondence and papers of various descriptions. It is, therefore, not surprising that due to the paucity of source-material no exhaustive and authentic history of Ajmer has so far been written in modern times, whereas a number of studies on other major cities of the region have been produced by historians and writers.

Even this study does not claim to have covered all the aspects of socio-economic conditions and the course of political activities, because the scope of investigation is limited to Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer and discussion of the theme rests on information derived chiefly from this principal source. The Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer wa Ranthambor is a collection of the copies of reports of the news gathered and despatched by the Waga-i Nawis, posted first at Ranthambor and then transferred to Ajmer. The period it covers extends to only three regnal years, 21 to 24, May 1678 to December 1689 (Rabi-us Sani 1089 Zi'q'ad 1091, H). This collection, preserved in the Seminar Library of History Department, Aligarh Muslim University was transcribed from a manuscript of Hyderabad State Library. The reports are

written in simple Persian and chronologically arranged, denoting every regnal year and month.

The name of the Waga'-i Nawis is not given anywhere in the pages of the text, and the contemporary records are also silent on this important matter. However, the author of this collection provides some brief but interesting information about himself. He first served as a Sawaneh Nigar of sarkar Ranthambor, and in 21 regnal year became the Bakhshi Waga'-i Nawis of the Subah Ajmer. When he was going to Ajmer to assume charge of his new office he halted to pass a night at village Pidana in the pargana Tonk. The local zamindar, Kishan Singh, sent some watchmen to guard his tent and help him in the event of an attack by robbers; but these watchmen finding the Mughal officer and his servants fast asleep entered the tent and took away all his belongings which included the three volumes of the copies of despatches he had communicated to the court from Ranthambor. Later, one of the miscreants was caught, but the volumes could not be recovered, and this valuable material was lost for ever. The first ten pages of the Waga'-i concerning the affairs of sarkar Ranthambor he wrote on the basis of his memory. Soon after his arrival in Ajmer the Waga'-i Nawis paid visit to the governor, and, having discussed official business with him, assumed the charges of his new office. For his residence he occupied the house recently vacated by the Sawaneh-Nigar.

The jurisdiction of the Bakhshi Waga-i Nawis extended to the whole province including the city of Ajmer. He gathered news through his agents working in the towns of the Subah, and twice a week sent them to the office of Darogah-i Dak Chowki for onward transmission. He himself wrote the reports after carefully scrutinizing and editing the news he received almost daily from different parts of the province. He tried his utmost to report full and correct facts without distortion to the imperial court. When he failed to maintain the lines of communication with his assistants during the period of Rathor rebellion he employed beggars to bring the news, and thus managed to keep the court informed with the changes and events in the subah. But the author has not recorded in his diary the proceedings and transactions that took place in the court when Aurangzeb was himself present in the city. The Emperor had once spent four months - January--April 1679 ---- in Ajmer, and again, he lived there for two years September 1679 to September 1681 , to direct and supervise the military operations against the Rathors.

It appears that the Waga'-i Nawis was not appointed in the princely states, as, for example, such an officer was sent to Jodhpur only after its annexation. He himself attended the courts of the governor and the gazi

in order to put down the proceedings and incidents in his register. He was not satisfied with his emoluments which were meagre in proportion to the difficult and delicate duties he efficiently and faithfully performed. He had often to borrow money from friends and bankers to meet his expenses. He worked under conditions of stress and strains. He had to supply authentic information to the Central government and maintain at the same time harmonious relations with his superior authorities. He once incurred the ill-will of Tahawwar Khan, the governor, for sending complaints against his conduct to the government.

The Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer is a mine of information. It makes a substantial addition to our knowledge of the history of the subah Ajmer for the period with which it deals. It describes in detail various military expeditions and administrative measures which Aurangzeb undertook to face the challenge of the Rathors and other refractory elements. It provides a rich data regarding the powers and function of the governor, the diwan and other provincial officers, and also sheds light on the mode of their handling the official business. It reveals that the royal orders for temple destruction were vigorously carried out throughout the province. It informs how Anup Singh had destroyed the foodgrains worth forty thousand rupees which formed part of

Maharaja Jaswant Singh's property. Though the toll-tax had been abolished by the government, yet the local zamindars and jagirdars realised it without any check, and even the government servants had to pay it under pressure. A Yad-dasht of 21 regnal year, July - August 1678, included in the Waga'-1, gives a list of price prevailing in Ajmer at that time. Price of some of the commodities are given here.

Wheat	24 <u>sers</u>	per one rupee
Barely	37 "	"
Oil	4 "	"
Gram	23 "	"
Gur	4 "	"
Flour	23 "	"

Besides this primary authority, there are several other valuable works that throw light on the history of Ajmer, and they have been used to support or supplement the information given in the Waga'. The first is the 'Alamgir-namah written by Mirza Muhammad Kazim. This official history is based on State records and documents, and it deals with the first ten years of the reign. The next work is the Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri written by Saqi Musta'id Khan. It is a complete history of Aurangzeb's reign and is based on state papers and documents. The Muntakhab-ul Lubab of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan is a general history of the Mughal

rule, and gives a complete history of Aurangzeb's reign. A work of great value is Futuhat-i Alamgiri written by Iswar Das who was a civil officer in Jodhpur. It is of great importance for the history of Rajasthan from 1657 to 1698. Shah Nawaz Khan's Ma'asir-ul Umara, a dictionary of the Mughal nobility, is immensely useful for details about the careers of governors, faujdars and other officials appointed in Ajmer during the reign of Aurangzeb. Asnad-us Sanadid, a collection of royal farmans, parwanas and sanads of various description dating from the time of Akbar to the end of Shah Alam II's reign, is of tremendous importance for the administrative history of Ajmer. It was compiled by Maulana Syed Abdul Bari Mani-Ajmeri--- and published in 1952. The supplement of Mirat-i Ahmadi is very useful for a discussion of the nature and character of the city administration under the Mughals, as it gives a minute account of the powers and functions of officers engaged in that administration. Then the two works, Annals And Antiquities of Rajasthan by Tod and History of Rajasthan in the Vir Vinod by Kavi Raj Shaymal Das are of priceless importance for the history of the period under discussion.

CHAPTER - I

I N T R O D U C T I O NThe First Two Decades of Aurangzeb's Reign, 1658-1678:

In 1678 Aurangzeb had completed two decades of his reign. These twenty years, constituting nearly the first half of the reign, had witnessed successful military campaigns against disruptive forces, conquest of some strategic areas and profound changes in religious and administrative policies of the state. During these years North India was the centre of all the important military and political activities, while the south 'figured as a far-off and negligible factor'. The wars waged in this period served not only to assert imperial prestige but also keep the nobles engaged and win public acclaim. By pursuing a policy of aggression and conquest Aurangzeb also wanted to demonstrate his claim to the throne. He had declared that none of his rivals, not even his father, possessed capacity and force of character required for leading the Empire to political glory and economic plenty. In the fulfilment of his objectives he faced difficulties and dangers, but ultimately succeeded in making the Empire stronger and building up his image as a superb general and efficient administrator. A man of undaunted courage, grim tenacity of purpose and ceaseless activity, Aurangzeb responded aggressively to the military challenges posed by the disruptive elements of the Empire. The dominant feature of his policy towards the

political anarchists and adversaries was straight fight by throwing the whole weight of the imperial resources into the scale and carrying out struggle incessantly till complete victory was achieved. Moreover, with his accession a period of strong government began. He infused new vigour in the administration, distracted by the war of succession, and adopted effective measures to restore law and order in the provinces of the Empire.

In 1662-3 Palam~~ah~~ and Kutch Bihar were occupied. Two years later Mir Jumla invaded Assam, while in the west Navangar was annexed. In January 1664 Shivaji's seizure and sack of Surat struck a severe blow to the growing power of the imperial government. However, Mirza Raja Jai Singh in the following year defeated and compelled Shivaji to submit to the dictates of the Emperor. Shivaji's escape from Agra in 1666 nullified Jai Singh's victory of the previous year and annuled the Treaty of Purandar. The imperialists opened vig^oorous offensive against Yusufzai and Afridi Afghans in June 1674 and after a relex^yntless fighting of two years they were brought into complete subjugation. The insurrections of the Jats in 1669-70 and of the Satnamis in 1672 were effectively suppressed.

Though these military operations kept the Empr^eor preoccupied, he endeavoured to raise the standards of the imperial administration, especially in its revenue and

judicial spheres. He reduced the fiscal burden on the general public by abolishing 63 abwabs or illegal cesses. For the growth of agriculture and protection of peasants he issued several decrees, the most important being those addressed to Muhammad Hashim and Rasikdas Karori. The work of compiling the Fatawa-i 'Alamgiri, designed to remove the prevailing defects and anomalies in the judicial system, was completed in this period. But he displayed fanatical intolerance towards the Hindus and Sikhs which stirred in their hearts a deep sense of cruel injustice and alienated their sympathies for government. On 19 April 1669 the Emperor issued a general ^dorder to demolish the temples and shrines of the infidels, and accordingly Vishwanath temple of Benares and Keshav temple of Mathura were demolished in 1670. This change in the policy of the state reversed the process of enlightened liberalism which had begun with the accession of Akbar to the Mughal throne^e a century ago.

Thus, these first two decades of Aurangzeb's reign were full of momentous events and developments which produced changes of great significance in state policies. A study of these developments and their effects on government and society will provide with a historical perspective that may be helpful to an understanding of political conditions emerging in 1679. The brief survey given in the present chapter is mainly devoted to the important military and administrative issues

Military Conquests and Suppression of Revolts:

Kuch Bihar and Assam

During the war of succession Pran Narayan, the Raja of Kuch Bihar, had occupied Kamrup without encountering any serious resistance from the imperialists. For three years, 1658-1661, the Raja remained in undisturbed possession of the territory, defying all the time sovereign authority of the Mughal Emperor. ¹ Aurangzeb, having consolidated his position, planned for the suppression of the rebellious vassal and recovery of the lost land. For this purpose the Emperor ² appointed Mir Jumla, the most trusted and experienced general, as the Viceroy of the eastern provinces in 1661. The march of the Mughal army under the command of a capable commander

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1. Prince Shuja' was the subedar of these provinces before the civil war, but when he engaged himself in the contest for throne these rebel zamindars annexed a large territory and created disturbances. The governor Lutfullah Shirazi fled away from the province, leaving all the Mughal dominion at the mercy of Ahom and Kutch Bihar kings.

See for details, J.N. Sarkar, Short History of Aurangzeb, pp. 113-123.

2. His real name was Mir Muhammad Sa'id Ardistani and he was a Persian by birth. He served under the Sultan of Golconda in various posts and finally became wazir of the Qutub Shahi ruler. He later joined hands with Prince Aurangzeb in the 29 R.Y. of Shahjahan, was rewarded and created a mansabdar of 5000/5000. When Qutub Shah in anger imprisoned his family and confiscated all his property the Mughal army marched towards Hyderabad and

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alarmed the local chiefs and they in terror submitted and offered to surrender the territory they had formerly seized. However, Mir Jumla could not be satisfied with the mere surrender of Kamrup by the Ahoms unless the rebels were thoroughly punished and the Mughal authority was restored. With this object in view the viceroy set out from Decca on November 1661 at the head of 12,000 horse and 30,00 foot, and vast flotilla of 323 boats, equipped with guns and led by European sailors, accompanied him. On 19 December 1661 the army occupied the capital of Kutch Bihar, and soon the annexation of the whole kingdom followed. On 4 January 1662 the Mughal commander left the place and invaded Assam. Mir Jumla experienced overwhelming difficulties in the course of campaign but his firmness and military skill triumphed over them. The Ahoms could not stand before the trained cavalry

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marched towards Hyderabad and compelled the Sultan to send back Mir Jumla's family. He received the title of Mu'azzam Khan. When he visited the imperial court the rank of 6,000/6,000 and office of Diwan was bestowed upon him. He fought in the Deccan and won fame as a brave and skilful general. When Aurangzeb declared war against his father and brother to secure the imperial throne, Mir Jumla was suspected for being in secret alliance with the Emperor. Aurangzeb imprisoned him. However, after some time he was released and honoured with a higher rank of 7,000/7,000. He was then sent to fight with Shuja'. He was successful in crushing Shuja' and was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan Sepahsalar. His famous campaigns in Kutch Bihar and Assam brought him name, but it was during the campaign when he died in April 1663, 2 kos from Kiderpuke.

For details, Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, The Life of Mir Jumla, pp. 222-283; History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, pp. 95-105; Ma'asir-ul Umera, Vol. III, pp. 30-55.

and heavy artillery of the Mughals, and were defeated in every battle. Their army and navy were annihilated, and on 17 March 1662 the Mughals took possession of Garhgqoon, the capital of Assam. After the rainy season -- May to October -- in which the Mughal troops suffered terribly, Dikhu near Garhgaon was besieged, ~~and~~¹ Dewalgaon was reduced and the whole country overrun. At last the Ahom king became despair of resistance and he opened negotiations with the Mughal viceroy through the mediation of Diler Khan. According to the terms of peace the Ahom Raja, Jayadhwaj, agreed to rule as vassal of the Mughal Emperor and send an ambassador to the headquarters of the faujdar at Gauhati. He also agreed to send atonce his daughter and the sons of the Raja of Tipan to the imperial court. He further undertook to pay the war indemnity consisting of 20,000 tolas of gold, 1,20,000 totlas of silver, and 20 dressed elephants for the Emperor, 15 for Mir Jumla and 5 for Diler Khan. Moreover, he was to pay in the following year 3,00,000 tolas of silver, and 90 elephants in three instalments. The Raja

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1. During the months from May to October Mir Jumla remained surrounded by floods and the enemy forces, and consequently the imperialisits- suffered immensely. But when the floods subsided and the ground became dry, the Mughal general rose to occesion and successfully dealt with the activities of the enemy.

ceded to the Mughals more than half of the province of Darrang in the Uttarkol, and the kingdom of Nakti Rani, thus expanding to a great extent the eastern limits of the Mughal Empire.¹

Shivaji's Conflict With The Mughal Empire:

It is not necessary for our purpose to trace either the origin of the Marathas or the early career of Shivaji, the subjects have been exhaustively discussed in the scholarly studies on the Maratha history. This section is confined to a brief analysis of events that led to the armed conflict between Shivaji and the Mughal government from 1660 to 1679 and its impact on the imperial power and politics in the Deccan during that period.

The unbroken series of military conquests achieved by Shivaji² forced Aurangzeb to organise a concerted military action under the direction of his experienced generals against him.

1. Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri, p. 44.
Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, pp. 530-555.
2. Shivaji was the second son of Shahji Bhonsle and was born in April 1627 at Junnar. He was an ambitious and energetic person. He strove to establish his position and influence in the area by uniting the Marathas under his leadership. He showed great courage and organizing capacity in establishing his kingdom by defeating his adversaries.

For detail of his life and achievements, see-
J. Grant Duff's History of Marathas, Vol. I.
N.S. Takakhav, The Life of Shivaji Maharaj
J.N. Sarkar, Shivaji and His Times.

He appointed Shayista Khan to the viceroyalty of the Deccan with the specific task of curshing the power of Shivaji. The viceroy, accordingly, opened a vigorous campaign early in 1660 and occupied Poona and the fort of Chakan.² But the gains of this hard-won victory were destroyed by Shivaji's surprise night attack on Shayista Khan's camp in Poona as a result of which he lost his thumb, a son and several attendants. It was a severe blow to the power and prestige of the governor. Aurangzeb punished the governor for his negligence and incapacity by transferring him to the government of Bengal and expressed his anger by not allowing him to proceed to Agra to attend the royal court.³ Shivaji's second outstanding success was the seizure and sack of Surat, the richest port of the west in January 1664. "Politically and militarily the seizure of Surat was a bombshell for the Mughals." It caused a great demoralizing effect on the imperial court.⁴

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1. Mirza Abu Talib was the maternal uncle of Aurangzeb and was the son of Asaf Khan, son of I'taimad-ud Daula. Jehangir bestowed on him the title of Shaisya Khan. He served as the subedar of various provinces under Shah-jehan and in 1658, got the title of Khan-i Jahan. He was holding the rank of 6000/6000 in the reign of Aurangzeb. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. II, pp. 690-706.
 2. Saaqi Mustad Khan, Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri, p. 25.
 3. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Vol. II, p. 171. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 45.
 4. During the governorship of Prince Muazzam, Surat was sacked by Shivaji. He also seized the ports of Jiwal and Pabal near Surat, and attacked the vassels of pilgrims. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Vol.(ii), p. 177.

For the successful prosecution of war with Shivaji¹ the Emperor's choice now fell on Mirza Raja Jai Singh, a veteran of hundred fights, skilful diplomate and cultured nobleman. On 30 September 1664 he was appointed the viceroy of the Deccan, and some generals of repute like Diler Khan, Raja Rai Singh Sisodia and Raja Sujan Singh Bundela were placed under his² command. Raja Jai Singh arrived at Poona on 3 March 1665 and took over charge from Maharaja Jaswant Singh who had been summoned to Delhi by the Emperor. Having completed arrangements for the defence of Poona, the new governor laid seige to Purandhar, the stronghold of Shivaji. For two months the fighting raged in which the Marathas suffered heavily in men and material alike. Shivaji, seeing prospects of a prolonged resistance bleak, offered to surrender the fort and met the³ Mughal commander on 10 June 1665 to discuss the terms of peace. The Treaty of Purandhar formed a new landmark in the history of Mughal-Maratha relations. By the treaty obligations of Purandhar Shivaji acknowledged the paramountcy of the Mughal Emperor and

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1. Mirza Raja Jai Singh was a Kachwaha Rajput, having Amber as his hereditary watan jagir and was serving under Mughal banner since 12 R.Y. of Emperor Jehangir. He served the Mughal government in various capacities in different parts of the Empire. During the war of succession in 1658, he defeated Prince Shuja at Fatehabad, and was promoted to the rank of 7000/7000 (5,000 2-3 b). After the battle of Dharmat, he joined Aurangzeb, and received as estate worth a crore of dams. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, pp.568-77.
 2. Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri, p. 48.
 3. See for details, Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri, pp. 50-51, Shivaji and His Times, pp. 103-26.

agreed to serve under him as a vassal. This fundamental condition he soon fulfilled by fighting under the command of Raja Jai Singh¹ against the army of Bijapur.

Raja Jai Singh also succeeded, though with great difficulty, in persuading Shivaji to go to Agra and pay his homage to the Emperor. He held out prospects of high rank and rich rewards, and assured him on solemn oaths that no harm would be done to his person or honour. The Emperor approved the plan and instructed the provincial diwan of the Deccan to advance Shivaji a sum of one lakh of rupees from the local treasury for the expenses of his journey. Shivaji reached Agra in the first week of May, 1666, and soon after was introduced in the open darbar where he made an offering of 1,500 gold pieces and Rs.6,000.² The Emperor graciously accepted the presents and called him to move near the throne. But, "no costly present, no high title, no kind word even, had followed his bow to the throne." In fact, gifts comprising an elephant, a robe of honour and some jewels had been reserved to be given to him at the end of his audience. The reason of the Emperor's indifference towards Shivaji may be ascribed to the heavy schedule of official business which he was conducting at the

1. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Vol. II, pp. 176-86.

Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 51; Alamgir Namah, pp. 903-7.

2. Alamgir Namah, p. 969.

moment in the crowded court. Shivaji was given a position in the row where mansabdars of 5,000 zat were standing. Proud of his military achievements and prowess, the Maratha chief had expected a higher rhak, a more cordial interview and some promise for promotion in future. Disappointed in his hopes and disgusted with the atmosphere in the court, he could not suppress his anger, and consequently fell down in a swoon. Upon this he was removed to a separate room, but on coming to his senses he openly complained of the ill treatment and even accused the Emperor of breach of faith. He was later on placed under police surveillance and forbidden the court. However, Shivaji, after three months of captivity, effected his escape by employing a clever device which he alone could think and execute. His escape proved a great shock to the Emperor the effects of which continued to influence his mind till the last. It portended official weakness and encouraged other predatory chiefs to fearlessly assert their power. Aurangzeb mistook Shivaji as an ordinary rebel and a military adventurer, and failed to understand his mental make-up, ambitions and the character of movement he had launched in the south.

For three years after his return to home from Agra, 20 November 1666, Shivaji lived peacefully, giving no fresh provocation to the Mughals; he devoted this period of peace

1. Muntakhab-ul Lubab (11), p. 190.

to the consolidation and extension of his authority, organization of administration and construction of new forts and repair of the old ones. Through the intermediary of Prince Muazzam, the new viceroy, and Maharaja Jaswant Singh he made peace with the Mughal government in the beginning of 1668. The Emperor recognized Shivaji's title of Raja but did not restore to him any of the forts except Chakan. Shambhaji, his eldest son, paid visit to the Prince who again conferred on him the mansab of 5,000 and assigned jagirs to him in Berar. Half of the assignee's contingent¹ were posted for royal service in Aurangabad, while the other half was sent to Berar to help him in collecting the revenues.

But in 1670 he broke away with the Mughal government and abandoned the treaty obligations he had recently entered into. He opened his offensive with resolve and vigour, and by rapid strokes recovered nearly all the forts ceded by him in 1665.² A bitter feud that arose between Prince Mu'azzam and Diler Khan, the Afghan general, prevented the imperialists

1. For details see: Shivaji and his times, pp. 160-164.

2. For details see: Life of Shivaji Maharaj, pp. 311-36.

In March 1670 even Purandar was recovered by one of Shivaji's general and the Mughal giladar was taken as capture.

Maasiri- Alamgiri, p. 99.

from chastising or even checking Shivaji.¹ Encountering no opposition from the Mughal army Shivaji plundered Surat for the second time, 3-5 October 1670, and brought safely a booty worth of 66 lakhs of rupees.² On 17 October he defeated Daud Khan at Dindoni who had been sent to intercept and attack³ the Marathas on their homeward march from Surat. He then made raids into Baglana, Khandesh, Berar and Aurangabad, devastated and seized towns and villages, and imposed chauth on the conquered territories. On 6 March 1673 he took hold of Panhala by bribery and 27th on July secured the possession of Satara fort by the same means.⁴ He thus frustrated the plans and tactics of the Mughal generals in the Deccan and gained great accession of power during this period of bitter warfare. For the Mughals the situation became dismal and the gloom was deepened by the Afghan revolt and confusion that arose after the death of 'Ali Adil Shah II. Shivaji, now

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1. It is said that Prince Muazzam wanted that Diler Khan should first attack Shivaji instead of ravaging the Bijapur territories. Diler Khan, after ravaging the lands of Adil Shahi kingdom, had besieged Bijapur and thus openly violated the Prince. Moreover Maharaja Jaswant Singh was also misguiding the Prince because for him Diler Khan's presence in Deccan was not good. Iftikhar Khan the Khan-i Saman was then sent to investigate into the matter and report to the Emperor, but he too played a dubious role. The quarrell became so bitter that it became a common talk of the camp, and ultimately Diler Khan was recalled and deprived of his rank and title. For details see, Muhammad Ebraheem Zubari, Basatin-us-Salatin, pp. 450-512; Shivaji and His Times, pp. 167-70.
 2. Ma'asir-i Alangiri, p. 106; Akhbarat - 13-10.
 3. For details see, Bhimsen, Nuskha-i Dilkusha, pp. 84-88.
 4. Ma'asir-i Alangiri, p. 107.

secure and supreme, crowned himself Chhatrapati at Raigarh¹ in June 1674. He spent one year in conquering Madras and Mysore Plateau. However, he was badly defeated by Ranmast Khan in November 1679 at a place between Jalna and Aurangabad. His four thousand soldiers fell and he slipped out by an obscure path to his own capital² where he died on 4 April 1680 at the age of 53.³

At the time of his death Shivaji's kingdom, included all the country stretching from Ramnagar in the north to Karevar or the Gangavati river in the Bombay district of Kanara in the south. The eastern boundry embraced Baglana in the north, Nasik and Poona districts, and covered the whole of Satara and much of the Kolhapur districts. His latest conquests included the country extending from the Tunghhdra opposite Kopal to Vellore and Jinji. The revenues from this whole area was nearly one crore of huns, while the chauth when collected in full brought in another 80 lakhs. "The imperishable achievement of his life," writes J.N. Sarkar, "was the welding of the Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed⁴ into his people."

1. For details see, Life of Shivaji Maharaj, pp. 348-69.
2. Shivaji and his times, p. 328.
3. Maasir-i Alamgiri, 194; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, (11), 271.
4. J.N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 190.

Revolt Of The Frontier Afghans:

The Yusufzai and Afridi clans living in the Pishawar and Khyber regions rose in revolt in the second decade of Aurangzeb's reign but were subjugated by the superior forces of the Empire. The rugged and narrow hills of the region yielded two scanty a sustenance for the ever-increasing population of these sturdy and warlike Afghans and law-enforcement agencies generally failed to keep them under control. The Afghans had preferred highway robbery to peaceful pursuit of trade and agriculture as their hereditary profession. Divided into clans and families and torn by mutual jealousies they could never be welded into a well-organized nation to establish and sustain a state on permanent basis. Unlike the Marathas and the Rajputs they did not obey a leader under all circumstances; they forsake him the moment he failed to provide them with booty.

At the beginning of 1667 the Yusufzai clan, living in Swat and Bajaur and the North Peshawar plain, rose under Baghu who crowned a pretender under the title of Muhammad Shah.¹ The Yusufzai Afghans crossed the Indus river above Attock and burst into Hazara district and plundered the imperial posts.

1. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Vol. II, p. 229.

Other hands of the Afghans ravaged western Peshawar and Attock districts. But they were defeated and driven out by Kamil Khan, the commandant of Attock. Shamsheer Khan, another imperial general, crossed the Indus with a large army and ruthlessly devastated their villages and towns. Early in September 1667 the Emperor sent Muhammad Amin Khan to take the supreme command of the Mughals, and he with hard blows further shattered the power of the rebels.¹

Few years later in 1672 the Afridi clans of Khyber Pass rose in revolt under their leader Akmal Khan, a born general and capable administrator. Akmal Khan crowned himself king and declared open war with the imperialists, and it soon assumed the character of a national movement. At a place called Ali Masjid he surrounded the army of Muhammad Amin Khan, governor of Afghanistan, cut off the supply of water and attacked so furiously that the Mughal commander could not stand the onslaughts and turned on his heels for safety. But the butchery that followed was unprecedented. Ten thousand men were slain, 20,000 men and women, including the governor's family were dragged into captivity, and entire baggage and equipment worth twenty million of rupees were plundered by the

1. On the orders of the Emperor Amir Khan the governor of Kabul had deputed Shamsheer Khan along with 500 men to put down the rebels. Further Aurangzeb deputed Bakhshi-ul Mulk Mohd. Amin Khan, along with other nobles and 9000 troopers to crush the revolt. Maasir-i Alamgiri, pp. 61-62.

fanatics.¹ Khushal Khan, the poet warrior of Khattak clan, inspired the tribe to join the ranks of the victorious leader and make sacrifice for the avowed national cause.

The Emperor degraded Muhammad Amin Khan for his inadequate arrangements and shameful flight and replaced him by Mahabat Khan.² But neither this new commander nor his successor Shuja'at Khan could cope with the fast deteriorating situation.³ Now Aurangzeb himself went to Hasan Abdal near Peshawar, 6 July 1674, to direct the operations against the victorious foe. His personal supervision soon brought success to the Mughal arms and restored the morale of the army. The leaders of many clans submitted to the Emperor and in return received pensions and posts, while the lands of the refractory chiefs were ravaged and overrun by the Mughal armies. In this warfare one Turki general Bighur played a conspicuous role and his ruthless tactics and matchless courage created terror in the hearts of the Afghan armies. Having established his

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1. Akmal Khan had successfully united the Afridis and Khattak tribes. He had really become a great danger for the imperial authority after his victory over Mohammad Amin Khan. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 117.
 2. Mohammad Amin Khan's rank was reduced from 6,000/- to 5,000/- and he was ordered to join his new appointment without visiting the court. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 121.
 3. It is said that Mahabat Khan's policy of secret arrangements and understanding with Afghans displeased the Emperor and he sent Shuja'at Khan with Maharaja Jaswant Singh to handle the situation effectively. But mutual rivalries, and lack of co-operation led to the Mughal disaster at Khara pass, resulting the death of Shuja'at Khan in 1674. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 129; 131-32.

authority in the war-torn area Aurangzeb returned, and in 1667 appointed Amir Khan as the governor of Afghanistan. By means of arms as well as diplomacy Amir Khan won the confidence of the tribesmen, and under his astute management the Afghans ceased to give trouble to the imperial government.

The Jat, Satnami and Sikh Uprisings:

In 1669, three years after Shivaji's escape from Agra, the Jats rose under their leader Gokla of Tilpat, and in the fighting that ensued killed Abdun Nabi, the fauddar of Mathura, seized and plundered villages and parganas around Agra. However, Hasan Ali Khan, whom Aurangzeb had sent at the head of a large army, defeated the Jats in a hotly contested engagement and established the Mughal rule. The Jats had mustered 20,000 strong, mostly peasants, and fought gallantly but could not stand before the rapid and furious charges of the Mughal cavalry and artillery. Gokla was taken prisoner and

1. The personal visit of the Emperor boosted the morale of imperialists and slowly and gradually the situation was controlled. When Aurangzeb returned to the capital, Asghar Khan was made thanadar of Jalalabad, Hazber Khan of Jagdalak, Farq Khan of Lamghawat, Khajar Khan of Bangasht. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 144-145; 148; 157.

2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 157.

Amir Khan, son of Khalilullah Khan of Yazd, served as Mir Tuzak in 29 regnal year of Shah Jahan, and in 31 regnal year he received the title of Mir Khan. In 10 regnal year of Aurangzeb he accompanied Mohammad Amin Khan to fight in the campaign against Yusufzai Pathans. In the Afghan war he showed remarkable capacity of dash, skill and organization, and in recognition of these merits he was appointed in 20 regnal year as governor of Kabul where he successfully dealt with the Afghan tribes and solved various administrative problems. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp. 277-278.

3. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 84; 92; 94-95.

later put to death in a most cruel way. The leadership of this huge plundering movement ever remained in the hands of the Jat zamindars.

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In 1672 the Satnamis of Narnol took up arms and organized a rebellion to overthrow the imperial authority in their district. They belonged to a sect of the Bairagis and believed in absolute monotheism, and condemned ritual, superstition and cast distinctions. They were farmers, artisans and petty traders, devoted to the ideals of fraternity, honesty, industry and simplicity, and anxiously keen to earn a good name in this world. A petty quarrel between a Satnami peasant and a foot soldier sparked off a general conflagration the repercussions of which were felt in far off places. The local officers failed to deal effectively with the large number of rebels, who easily routed the few troops sent in small units against them. Consequently, Narnol was sacked and an independent administration was set up by the Satnamis in and around the district. This development aroused the Emperor to the gravity of the situation. He despatched a strong army under Ra'dandaz Khan with artillery and a detachment of the imperial guard. In a most obstinate battle that took place two thousand Satnamis fell on the field, and their whole army, was completely routed.

1. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Vol. II, p. 252; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 114-16. The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707), pp. 342-44.

Hargovind, son of Guru Arjun, was the first Guru of the Sikhs who endeavoured to transform the sect into a military body ob^eedient to its chief and set up a political organization to achieve material prosperity and worldly glory. He formed a small army, kept in his retinue armed soldiers and adopted the style of a Raja. "I wear two swords as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined." But his relations with the Mughal government soon became strained. On refusal to liquidate the fine imposed on his father Arjun by Jahangir he was condemned to imprisonment of twelve years which he stoically suffered in the fortress of Gwalior. However, Shah Jahan employed him in the government, but he resigned and organized a revolt against the King. His army defeated and killed Panida Khan Afghan, an imperial general, in an encounter, and plundered his camp. The fame of his victory spread far and wide, and the hope of booty attracted the sturdy Jat peasantry¹ in large numbers. He died at Kiratpur on 10 March 1645.

He was succeeded by his grandson Har Rai, son of his eldest son Gurditta. The new Guru sent his own eldest son Ram Rai to the court of Aurangzeb, and himself lived in peace at Kiratpur where he died in 1661. After his death internal feuds

1. For details see: Dabistan-i Mazahib, p. 234.

Z. Farooqi, Aurangzeb and His Times, pp. 247-59.

broke out among the Sikhs, who in the end acknowledged Tegh Bahadur, second son of Har Govind as their Guru, and he selected a new place near Kiratpur for his abode, calling it Anandpur. Tegh Bahadur left this place and proceeded to Patna from where he accompanied Ram Singh Kachwaha on a military expedition to Assam. He took part in the campaigns against the Raja of Assam but after some time returned to Anandpur and began to live ^{as} a wandering devotee; the Sikhs called him Sacha Padshah, or the true King. He supported the cause of the Hindus of Kashmir who were opposing the policy of religious persecution pursued by Aurangzeb. On this charge he was arrested and brought to Delhi where he was beheaded.¹

Aurangzeb's Religious Policy:

Aurangzeb's religious policy was shaped by the political and economic trends ~~and~~ as well as his own missionary zeal to restore the religion of Islam to its pristine purity and rejuvenate the Muslim society. In the style of his life he was puritan, ~~and~~ austere, and industrious while in the observance of his religious rites and practices he was passionately devout and inflexibly rigid. A great upholder of shariat, Aurangzeb wanted to enforce its rules and regulations through state machinery for socio-religious reform of the Muslim society.

1. History - of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, PP 206/7

With~~at~~ that end in view he prohibited music, dance, gambling, and drinking; he forbade the use of tight ~~trousers~~¹ by ladies, disallowed women to congregate during the anniversaries of the saints, and even prescribed the length of a man's coat. He denounced such saints who led people astray and indulged in unlawful practices. In the beginning he displayed no hostility towards the Hindu faith and its traditions; he, on the other hand, tried to win its followers to his side. In one of his nishans, addressed to Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, he stated, " a king who practices intolerance towards the religion of another, is a rebel against God."² Again, he expressed his views about other religions in the following words:³

"What connection have earthly affairs with religion? and what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry? For you is your religion and for me is mine."

During the war of succession and immediately after his enthronement he made earnest efforts to secure the support of the Rajput chiefs and mansabdars and scrupulously avoided the use of religious slogans which would have surely alienated

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1. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Vol. II, pp 212-13. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III pp 5
 2. Vir Vinod, II, pp. 419-420.
 3. Anecdotes, 99.

them. It is true that Dara Shukoh had brought in 22 Rajputs among his 87 known supporters while Aurangzeb had only Nine Rajputs holding ranks of 1,000 and above. The reason for this difference lay in the fact that at that time majority of Rajput chiefs and mansabdars were posted at the royal court and they could not afford to defy the orders of Shah Jahan, who wanted to prevent the forward march of his three sons on Agra. After accession Mirza Raja Jai Singh was given the high rank of 7,000, and appointed governor of Bengal with all the powers and privileges vested in that office. Even Raja Jaswant Singh, in spite of his roles in the battles of Dharmat and Khajwah, was promoted to the same rank of 7,000/7,000, and¹ twice appointed governor of Gujarat, 1659-61 and 1670-72.

Thus, Aurangzeb treated the Hindu chiefs and zamindars with indulgence, and continued to appoint and promote the Hindu mansabdars and civil officers with liberal patronage. However, the stresses and strains to which the imperial government was subjected during the Maratha and Jat risings brought a change in his attitude towards the Hindu classes, and he began to exercise restraint in matters of recruitment and promotion of Hindu officers at the close of the first decade of his reign. The sack of Surat by Shivaji in 1664 and later on his escape from Agra in 1666 and the revolt of

1. Maasir-ul Umara, III, pp.599-604.

Gokāl Jat in 1669 left a deep impression on his mind and he dreaded the dangers of an organized movement against his regime. But, unlike his predecessors who also faced similar challenges to the stability of peace in the Empire, Aurangzeb did not remain satisfied with mere suppression of the insurgents by force. He contrary to the Mughal traditional ways of dealing with such elements, resorted to iconoclastic measures which in consequence gave cause of bitter resentment to the Hindu public and brought charges of belind bigotry against him. Abdun Nabi Khan, faujdar of Mathura, forcibly removed the carved stone railing presented by Dara Shukoh to Keshav Rai's temple. This he did in compliance with the royal orders issued on 14 October 1666. Finally in January 1670 this magnificent temple, built by Bir Singh Dev Bundela at a cost of 33 lakhs was raised to the ground and on its ruins a grand mosque was constructed.¹ "On seeing this strength of the Emperor's faith and the grandeur of his devotion to God, the Rajas felt suffocated and they stood in amazement like statues facing the walls."² In accordance with Hanafi law the Emperor laid down that old temples were to be protected while the construction of new temples would be prohibited. However, the evidence on record suggests that not all the newly built temples and shrines of the Hindus were demolished; few cases

1. For details, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II *Maasir-i. Aurangzi*; PP 95-96

2. *Maasir-i. Aurangzi*; PP 95-96.

of destruction of new temples do not conclusively prove that these orders were carried out in every village and town of the Empire.¹ But the mere issuance of the government orders regarding the destruction and profanation of sacred and holy places of the Hindus can¹not be justified from even the then prevailing standards of justice and equity; such narrow interpretation of the cannon law revealed his religious fanaticism and constituted a reversal of the enlightened² policy so successfully pursued by his predecessors. Moreover, Aurangzeb, by an ordinance of 10 April 1665, fixed the custom duty on all commodities brought in for sale at $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the value in the case of Muslims and 5% in that of the Hindu merchants. Two years later, 9 May 1667, the Emperor abolished the custom duty altogether in the case of Muslim traders, while the Hindu merchants continued to pay the duty at the old rate of 5% .³ This might have been probably done to encourage the Muslim trading classes to increase their business and come^ppete with the Hindu traders possessing far[^] greater resources, experience and skill in profiteering. In 1670 the imperial government imposed pilgrimage tax, and according to Khafi Khan the Hindus excepting the Rajputs were⁴ forbidden to ride palkis, elephants and horses of high quality.

1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 81.

2. Sujan Rai, Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, pp. 14, 16, 65, 91.

3. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, 229, 230.

4. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, 212, 88; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 370, 354.

The Muslim religious and intellectual classes received large revenue-free grants of land, and their mosques and madrassas were not only protected but also given financial help by the government. Nevertheless his fanaticism as reflected in these discriminative regulations produced no deep impact on the working of the imperial administration for it continued to function on the old secular lines, and the basic socio-economic structure of the Hindu society remained unaltered.

Central Administration:

During these first two decades of Aurangzeb's reign the central government exercised sway over provincial ~~and~~ administration and operated at the peak of its efficiency. Highly centralised and despotic in character, the imperial government performed its multifarious functions in a most vigorous and effective manner. The Emperor supervised the working of every department, dealt with important issues confronting the government and curbed with ^{at} strong hand any form of corruption, abuse and official excesses. He displayed qualities of leadership in raising the standards of efficiency in every department, maintaining the integrity of the government and prestige of the monarchy. But he made no fundamental changes in the basic structure of the administrative machinery which he had found in a state of slackness and negligence. He placed the departments of the central government under the charge of competent and experienced ministers while in the provinces he took care to bring local agencies and functionaries

under his direct supervision through the process of regular transfers and promotions of officers and prompt execution of the royal orders. For five years Aurangzeb kept the post of wizarat vacant; only two experienced officers, Raj Rayan Raghunath and Fazil were ~~interested~~ entrusted with the functions of the office. This was a wise step on the part of the Emperor as it ensured unity and balance of power among different sections of the nobility, so essential for the stability of the government in a situation arising out of the peculiar circumstances of his accession to the throne.¹

After his accession to the throne, Aurangzeb took care to maintain balance of power among different sections of the governing class, and tried to satisfy the demands of the nobles for promotion in order to secure their cooperation in military campaign^s he had launched to establish his position as a strong and capable sovereign. He even did not appoint any noble to the post of wizarat lest it should prove a source of friction and result in the formation of groupings among the ambitious nobles and high officials. For a decade he adhered to the principle of conciliation and concord with his nobles, and did his utmost to keep his court free from tensions of factionalism which characterised the politics in

1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 25; History of Aurangzeb, III, pp. 41, 41.

the court during the later period. After the death of his father in 1666 Aurangzeb felt secure and found himself in a better position to deal firmly with the nobles if they mustered strength to challenge his authority. This self-confidence reinforced by success in the suppression of insurrections led him to change his attitude towards the nobility; particularly the Hindu section of it was affected most by this change. As most of the revolts had been organized by the Marathas, the Jats and other Hindu zamindars and peasants causing bitter mortification to Aurangzeb, the Muslim orthodox elements in the court and outside it aroused the suspicion of the Emperor about the loyalty of not only the classes involved but of the Hindu public in general. The Muslim orthodox ulema acted in a manner best calculated to serve their own interests, and at last their steady pressure on the Emperor bore fruit. The Emperor now began to bank heavily on the exclusive support of the Muslim religious class. Mahabat Khan expressed his disapproval against such trends in a very strongly worded letter to the Emperor. "The experienced and able officers, of the state," he wrote, "are deprived of all trust and confidence while full reliance¹ is placed on hypocritical mystics and empty-headed scholars." It has been suggested that Aurangzeb sought to satisfy the demands of the Muslim nobility at the expense of the Hindu

1. Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p. 99.

mansabdars and zamindars for he had no lands to conquer and no jagirs to assign to the farmer. The foreign elements in the Mughal nobility — the Turanis and the Persians — occupied a predominant position, but the khanazad nobles also enjoyed a privileged position as there were 213 khanazad mansabdars out of the total 486. By the end of the second decade of his reign the Rajputs suffered a setback in matters of recruitment and promotion, whereas the number of the Afghans increased. The government assigned jagirs as well as zamindari rights to the Afghan mansabdars in the areas which were centres of chronic disturbances and disorders.

Another striking feature of the imperial administration during the period under review was the growing evil of corruption and vanality from which even the theologians and judicial officers were not free. The repeated orders and the warnings of Aurangzeb evidently indicate that the evil had become deeply rooted, affecting all the departments and consequently eroding the credibility of the government. At the same time the influence of the ulema and the qazis was increasing at the court and they were assuming a role which was outside the sphere of their jurisdiction and beyond their capabilities. When Aurangzeb was in search of a competent general to lead a campaign against Shivaji, Mahabat Khan, the ablest and most outspoken of the courtiers, is said to have remarked. "It is unnecessary to send an army against him; a

proclamation by the chief qazi would do the work." ¹ Qazi Abdul Wahab accepted bribes while appointing qazis, and during sixteen years of his tenure he had amassed Rs. 32 lakhs in cash besides jewellery and other valuable collections. ² The governors and faujdars also collected huge wealth through unlawful means without the fear of being punished for their acts of exploitation and misappropriation. For instance, Abdun Nabi Khan, faujdar of Mathura, was able to gather 93,000 gold coins and thirteen lakhs of rupees. Ja'afar Khan, Shaista Khan and Hafiz Mohammad Amin Khan were some of the few officers who by indulging in corruption had amassed ³ treasurers of money. It appears that Aurangzeb failed to cursh the pernicious practice of corruption and reconciled ¹ to the existing social system which he could not transform without provoking the bitter opposition of the vested interests.

It has already been observed that during the war of succession the zamindars and other revenue-collectors had withheld the payment of dues to the government, and, encouraged by the political instability, they took to highway robbery and plunder of the villages. Soon after accession to the throne

1. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II pp 216-17.

2. Ma'asir-ul-Umara, I, pp. 235-41.

3. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 83; Manucci, III, pp. 232-291.

Aurangzeb adopted severe measures to punish the refractory elements, restore order in towns and villages and recover the government dues so far unpaid by the zamindars and peasants. Punitive expeditions under the command of experienced generals were despatched for the maintenance of peace and collection of revenues. At the same time he took steps to improve agriculture and provide relief to the hardpressed public. He abolished both the rahdari and the pandari in the crown lands and requested the jagirdars and zamindars to do the same in the areas under their jurisdiction. This remission of the transit duties on grains resulted in the free flow of corn, oil and vegetables, and bringing down prices to an appreciable extent.¹ Owing to drought in 1661 famine took place in north India and cities with large populations like Lahore, Delhi and Agra were affected by scarcity of food. The government opened centres in these and other places for² distribution of food among the poor and needy.

In a farman issued to Muhammad Hashim, diwan of Gujarat, in 1669 Aurangzeb urged the revenue officers to show benevolence towards the cultivators and encourage them by their own kind treatment to bring more land under tillage. The officer concerned should inquire into the condition of every

1. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, pp. 87-89, 212.

2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 34.
Alamgir-Namah, Vol. II, p. 609.

cultivator and act according to his information. If the ra'iyat was destitute, possessing no implements of tillage, cattle or seed, he should be provided with financial assistance in the form of tagavi, and persuaded to cultivate the land. In case he was in possession of all the means required for cultivation and there was enough rainfall, but failed to plough the land and sow the seed he should be punished and compelled to do his job. It should be declared that whether the ra'iyat cultivated the land or not he would have to pay the rent fixed at an alterable rate for a specified quantity of land. If the cultivator was too poor to get together agricultural implements or fled away leaving the land uncultivated, the land could be given to another peasant on ~~lease~~ or for direct cultivation and the amount of the revenue collected from him. It was further laid down that the government share in the revenue should not exceed one-half, even if the land is capable of paying more than this. Whenever the ra'iyat deserted the land owing to the excessive exactions and oppression of the officers cultivation suffered and the revenue declined. The officer might change fixed revenue into share of crop, or vice versa, if the ra'iyat agreed to it otherwise not.

1. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 176-181.

Remission to the cultivator was allowed in case his cultivated field was devastated by a natural calamity, such as drought and flood. If a man sold his land, i.e., the crop of his land and the purchaser got sufficient time during the year to cultivate it, the officer should take the revenue from the purchaser. In case a person built a house on his land or plants trees the rent as fixed before should be realised from him. If he turned an arable land, on which a fixed revenue was assessed for cultivation into a garden and planted fruit-trees on the whole tract, the officer should take Rs. 2½ which was the maximum rate for gardens, although the trees were not yet bearing fruit. In the farman addressed to Rasikdas Knori issued in 1667 the Emperor laid stress on the increase of cultivation, protection of the peasants, full investigation of agrarian conditions prevailing in each pargana, enforcement of royal orders regarding the abolition of illegal cesses, necessary help and kind treatment to the rail'vat and full realisation of the government dues. The aims and objectives of the Emperor's agricultural policies are embodied in the preamble to this important farman. "That, all the desires and aims of the Emperor are directed to the increase of cultivation, and the welfare of the peasantry and the people at large." The revenue officers have been urged to make inquiries into the state of the crops and cultivators of every village and exert themselves to bring all the arable lands under tillage and to increase the cultivation and the total standard revenue, so that the parganas may become cultivated and inhabited, the

people prosperous, and the revenue increased.¹"

The questions that how far these orders and instructions of the Emperor were implemented by the local revenue officers and to what extent the cultivation increased and the condition of the peasants improved have generated acute controversy among the historians. For instance, Moreland basing his formulations on the contemporary traveller's accounts has concluded that the condition of the peasantry was worse during the reign of Aurangzeb than in the previous regimes of the Great Mughals. But it appears that the situation deteriorated due to incessant fighting which took place in the second part of his reign. The reasons ascribed to the distress and hardship of the peasants are the excessive exactions, corruption, transfer of jagirs and revolts of the zamindars. Dr. Athar Ali, on the other hand, holds that these regulations were enforced and these checks and restraints^{on} the jagirdars, prevented them from committing excesses as the government machinery was operating efficiently and effectively. Prof. Irfan Habib is of the opinion that peasants enjoyed better position under the zamindars in khalisa or jagir lands. The zamindars being always in need of their support in conflicts with the government officers treated the peasants kindly and generously.

1. Mughal Administration, pp. 190-191.

CHAPTER - II

THE CITY OF AJMER DURING THE RATHOR REBELLIONStrategic Importance Of The City:

Situated on a high plateau in a valley surrounded by the hills of the Aravali range, the city of Ajmer occupied a position of great strategic importance in Rajputana during the medieval period of the Indian history. It had served as a watch-tower over the neighbouring states of Mewar and Marwar while the famous fortress of Taragarh built on one of its hills provided a strong defensive shield against the foreign aggression. The hills and plains in the valley had witnessed in the past intermittent and fateful fighting between the troops of the warlords striving to capture it for establishing their supremacy over the whole region. As the city lay astride the trade routes between the Gangetic plain and Gujarat, it gradually became the seat of commerce and trade and consequently grew in population and prosperity. Already a famous place of religious worship for the Hindus and the Jains, the shrine of Khawaja Mu'in-ud-din Chishti who had preached the spiritual message of Islam in the twelfth century began to attract Muslim pilgrims in thousands every year, adding new element to its social and cultural life. Like other cities in India Ajmer, too, became the religious centre of different communities which inhabit the country. During the period of the Muslim rule beautiful structures — monuments, public buildings, shops and houses — were erected

and gardens were laid out in the city and its environs. It became the capital of the subah of Ajmer, the military headquarters of the imperial government, the key city of Rajputana, the centre of beauty and attraction and the seat of culture and arts.

The early history of Ajmer is shrouded in obscurity and there is a difference of opinion among the historians on the date of its foundation and the dynasty which established its rule over the place. It is said that Ajmer was founded about the year 145 A.D. by Ajaipal, a Chuhan who also established the rule of his dynasty. But R.C. Majumdar contends that Prithvi Raj's son and successor Ajaipal founded the city of "Ajaymeru" or modern Ajmer at the dawn of the twelfth century.¹ But the description of Ajmer as given in the contemporary literature presents the picture of a fully developed city, and in the light of this evidence it is difficult to understand how it expanded to such a great extent within a short period if it had been founded at the beginning of the twelfth century.

1. J.M. Dave, Immortal India, Vol. II, p. 5, Bombay-1960.

Dave holds the view that the city was founded by Ajaipal, a chohan king who ruled during the days of Mahabharat.

Dr. Buhler, Ajmer Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVI, pp. 162-63 holds the view that the foundation of the city was laid down by Ajaidev II, the twenty third chohan king.

The other modern sources which mention the date of its foundation in 145 A.D. are Encyclopadia Britainica, Vol. I, pp. 481-82; Encyclopadia Americana, Vol. I, p. 293. But Dr. R.C. Majumdar, The Struggle for Empire, p.82; hold the view that the present city was founded by Ajairaj in the closing years of twelfth century.

It may be safely assumed that Ajmer had been founded long before the times of Prithvi Raj and the former Rajas, who ruled over it¹ worked for its growth and expansion.

Ajmer Under The Sultans of Delhi:

The second battle of Tarain in 1192 resulted in the defeat of Prithvi Raj and the conquest of Delhi and Ajmer by Shihab-ud-din Ghauri.² The victor, however, did not annex Ajmer to his newly founded kingdom, but allowed the vanquished's son to rule over it as his vassal. The Chuhans did not accept this position and under the leadership of Hari Raj, brother of Prithvi Raj, organized a rebellion on massive scale, and capture Ajmer after driving out Prithvi Raj's son who had been installed as the vassal Raja by the Turks. Qutb-ud-din Aibek, the commander of Shihab-ud-din's troops, immediately rushed at the head of a strong army to the scene of trouble and compelled

(Contd. from previous page)....

For details see, H.B. Sharda, Ajmer — Historical and Descriptive, pp. 37-40; Also see, R.C. Bramely, Imperial Gazetteer, 137-40; J.D. Latachi, Gazetteer of Ajmer-Merwar, p. 4; E. Thorton, A Gazetteer of territories under the Govt. of East India Company, p. 56. Col. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, II, p 893; III pp 1446-47

1. It is said that Anoraja or Anoji constructed the famous Ana-sagar, and named it after him, so did the Visaldev, who had built the famous Sarsawti Mandir, which was later converted in the famous mosque known as "Adhai Din-ka-Jhonpra". He also built the Visalsagar now known as Bichla Lake. For details see, Ajmer - Historical and Descriptive and the Gazetteers mentioned above. Hasan Nizami, Ta'aj-ul Maasir
2. Minhaj-us Siraj, Tabqaat-i Nasiri, Vol. I, p. 400.

Hari Rai to give up his hold over Ajmer, which was again placed under the charge of the son of Prithvi Raj.¹ No sooner had the Turkish commander turned his back than Hari Rai ousted the vassal of the Turkish government and took possession of Ajmer. Again Qutb-ud-din Aibek marched on Ajmer and recaptured it without difficulty, but this time he put its administration under the control of a Muslim officer and transferred the Chuhan Raja to Ranthambor. The local Rajput chiefs made several vigorous attempts to recover this important place from the control of the Turks but the determination and fearless³ courage of Qutb-ud-din frustrated their designs.

Since this time Ajmer remained under the direct control of the Turkish government and all the Sultans of Delhi took special interest in its administration. In 1326 Muhammad bin Tughluq marched against Rana Hamir Deva who had captured Ajmer. The Sultan dislodged Hamir Deva and imposed his paramountcy over the place, and paid visit to the shrine of Khwaja

1. Ta'aj-ul Ma'asir, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. II, pp 222-24

2. Miran Syed Hussain Khang -- was appointed the qiladar of the city but in 1210, the Solankis and other clans of Rajputs attacked and killed him with all his companions at the fortress of Garhi Bitle. His shrine along with others still visited by pilgrims. Ferishta, Tarikh-i Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 62.

3. Taj-ul Maasir, - Elliot & Dowson, Vol II, pp 220/48

1
Mu'in-ud-din Chishti. In 1396 Zafar Khan, the governor of Gujarat, led an expedition against the Rajputs and established his control over Ajmer.² The local chieftains, taking advantage of the break-down of central power caused by the invasion of Timur, 1396-97, occupied Ajmer and kept it under their control³ till 1456 when Mahmud Khalji, the Sultan of Mandoo, recovered it and appointed his own officer, Khawaja Nai'mat-ullah as governor of Ajmer.⁴ Maharana Sangha, re-occupied it in 1515.⁵

1. Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, p. 466.

According to Mir Khurd who had quoted Shaikh Nizam-uddin Auliya, Shaikh Muin-al-Din Chishti stepped into the heart of Ajmer city during the closing reign of Perthivi Raj Chauhan. He lived there for about 40 years and preached Islamic mysticism. He passed away and buried in 1235/633 A.H. in the same cell where he had spent most of his time in meditation. Sivar-ul Auliya, p. 46.

2. Sikander, Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 18.

3. According to Tod, Maharana Mukul held it between 1420-33; Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 16. Later on it is reported by H.B. Sharda, Maharana Kumbha, p. 144; that the city was under the control of Maharana Kumbha till 1456.

4. Kaviraj Sheyamaldas, Vir Vinod, Vol. I, pp. 326-27. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabqaat-i Akbari, Vol. III, p. 338.

The author of Akhbar-ul Akhiyar, says that the Sultan of Mandoo first requested Shaikh Qutbuddin, a great grandson of Shaikh Mu'in-ul-Din Chishti to become the Hakim of Ajmer, but the descendant of the great Chishti saint refused, and later Khwaja Naimatullah was given the charge of Ajmer.

Shaikh Qutbuddin was compelled by the Sultan to accompany him to Mandoo where he was ~~to~~ given a mansab of 3,000 with the title of Chisht Khan. A Haveli in Mandoo very near to that of the Sultan's still exists, and is known as Chishti Khan's Haveli, and reminds the people of the respected Khan.

Molvi A. Haq, Akhbar-ul Akhiyar, pp. 130-31.

5. B.N. Rao, Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathore.

In 1532, the Gujarat army of Bahadur Shah snatched it from Rajputs by an assault.¹ We are informed that in 1544; Sher Shah Suri attacked the city, and after the victory visited the shrine of Shaikh Muin-al-Din.² The visits of the Sultan of Delhi, Mandoo, Gujarat, and of their respective nobles, ~~refutes~~ the theory that it was only during the period of Akbar, that the city of Ajmer assumed greater importance owing to the shrine of Khwaja Muin-al-Din Chishti for whom the Emperor had deepest regard.

After the decline of Sur power, Haji Khan, a slave of Sher Shah established his independant state ~~at~~³ at Ajmer. It was from Haji Khan Sur that Akbar's general wrested^{it} in 1556/946 to the Mughal Empire.⁴

Formation of the Subah of Ajmer Under Akbar:

Soon after his accession to the throne in 1556 Akbar despatched a military expedition under the command of Muhammad Qasim Khan Nishapuri to conquer Ajmer and annex^{it} to the Mughal Empire. When in 1580 the provincial administration was re-organized and a uniform system - civil and judicial —

1. Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 293. Actually Shamsheer-ul Mulk a Gujarati Commander attacked and had occupied the city.
2. Abdoolah, Tarikh-i Daudi, p. 154.
3. Abul Fazal, Akbar Namah (Tran. Bev.) Vol. II, p. 72.
4. Akbar-Namah, Vol. II, p. 46.

introduced throughout the Empire, Ajmer obtained the status of a se^aparate and full-fledged subah and city of Ajmer, its capital, became the base for military operations in Rajputana. The increasing interest of the Emperor in the affairs of the Rajput states led the imperial government to under-take measures for the development of the city in all spheres. To the east of the subah of Ajmer lay Agra, to the north the dependencies of Delhi, to the south Gujarat and to the west Dipalpur and Multan. It comprised seven sarkars having 197 parganas ¹, the sarkar of Ajmer had 26 parganas. The sarkars of Ajmer, Nager, Ranthambor and Chittor were under direct control of the central government and their faujdars were appointed and transferred by the orders of the Emperor. But Jodhpur, Sirhoi and Bikaner sarkars were not administered directly by the centre, as the chiefs of these places had acknowledge the Mughal suzeranⁱty and ruled as vassals. Its revenue was 28,61,37,968 dams, and it had to furnish 86,500 cavalry, and 347,000 infantry. The Ajmer sarkar had to contribute 16,000 cavalry, 80,000 infantry and 6,221,83,890 dams ² as revenues from its mahals.

1. Abul Fazal, Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, pp. 23-26.

2. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, pp. 23-26; 128-30.

The Emperor's repeated visits between 1561-80 to the shrine of Shaikh Muin-ud-¹Din Chishti his grants of revenue free land to the KHADIMS, and the imperial officials of the shrine,² and his keen interest in the development of the city³ enhanced the position of Ajmer, and it grew into one of the most prosperous and flourishing cities of the Empire.

Jahangir visited Ajmer in 1613 and made it a head-quarter of his operations against Maharana Amar Singh of Mewar. He stayed here for nearly three years and frequently paid visits to the shrine during this period. He admired the beauty of the landscape of its buildings, markets and climate

1. Akbar visited Ajmer in 1561 and sent Hussain Quli Beg in 1563 to crush the revolt of Mirza Sharfuddin Jagirdar of Ajmer. He again visited it in 1568; In 14 regnal year the famous journey of the Emperor on foot took place. He visited Ajmer for the last time in 1580.
2. Three villages of Nandla, Beer and Kakniavas were assigned to khadims as madad-i ma'ash. For details see Maulana A. Bari, Asnad-us Sanadid, pp. 3-36.
3. The famous city wall (kot) was constructed. At the same time a palace-cum fort was erected for the royal residence, known as Daulat Khana, now called as Magzine. Khas Bazar, now called as Dargah Bazar, was founded and a big mosque in the shrine of Khwaja Sahib with a tank in it was built. Finding the Mughal Emperor, so much attached to the Khawaja, many among his nobles erected buildings in the shrine of Shaikh Muin-ud-din, On the Taragarh fort and also in Shrine of Miran Syed Hussain.

of the city.¹ During the period of his stay Mehrun Nissa was given the title of "Noor Mahal and Prince Khurram that of Shah-1 Jahan. Dara was also born here in 1615. It was here that Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, visited the Emperor.² According to Foster, there was an English factory under Master Edwards, when Thomas Roe came here, and Tom Coryat lived in Ajmer for more than a year in 1615.³ ^{withing-}Don also came to Ajmer in the same year.³ After the death of Jehangir, Khurram passed through Ajmer on his way to Agra, and here Mahabat Khan met and promised him to support in his struggle of succession to the throne.⁴ Shah Jahan after his accession came to Ajmer and on one occasion his daughter Jahan Ara and other members of the family visited the shrine.⁵

1. Tuzuk-i Jehangiri, pp. 124, 68.
2. W. Foster, The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, pp. 20-21.
3. W. Foster, Early Travels in India, pp. 194-236.
4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 399. Mahabat Khan who was afraid of Asaf Khan pledged his loyalty to Shah Jahan by taking a solemn oath at the shrine of Khwaja Sahib. Later, he was given the title of Khan-i Khanan, sipahsalar with a rank of 7,000/7,000, a gift of Rs.4 lakhs, and the governorship of Ajmer. A Hamid Lahori Badshah Namah, Vol. I, pp. 69, 117.
5. For Jahan Ara's visit, see, Mubis-ul Arwah,

Shah Jahan constructed some magnificent buildings in the city and ¹Dargah, and took keen interest in its administrative affairs. He settled the dispute among the custodians of the Dargah over the issue of the key-keeping of the shrine and distribution of daily income.²

During the life time of Shah Jahan war broke out among his sons, and the city of Ajmer witnessed one of the bloodiest and decisive battles of succession.

Battle of Deorai, March 1659:

Deorai³ or Dorai is four and a half miles south of Ajmer, and lies at the mouth of Chashma valley, and at the foot of eastern spurs of the hills crowned by the famous Garh Bitli. It was here that a decisive battle for the imperial throne was fought between the armies

1. Among his famous buildings are the Jama Masjid of white marble in the shrine, Kalamī Darwaza of the shrine, marble Baradarīes on the embankment of Anasagar.
2. There is a big 'Farman' in the treasury (commonly known as Toshe-khana-i Qadīm) in which the names of all the Mūjavars are written. The whole community of the Mūjavirs was divided into seven groups, each composed of 27 persons. It was arranged that each would keep the key and obtain the income for a day, and thus all the seven groups will get their turns within a week. The Farman is dated 29 Zil Hij, 28 R.Y. Asnad-us Sanadid also contains a copy of this farman, pp. 210-214.
3. The villages Deorai and Sombalpure were given to the shrine of Syed Hussain at Taragarh by Akbar.

of Aurangzeb and Dara Shikuh on 14 March 1659. Having set up his authority in Ahmadabad and secured the submission of Shah Nawaz Khan, the governor of Gujarat, Dara organized a fresh army of 22,000 to challenge his victorious brother Aurangzeb for another trial of strength. But Ahmadabad was exposed to the enemy's attack, and in case he was surrounded and besieged he could be easily ^{rauted} ~~ruined~~. Search for a safe base of operation forced him to withdraw from Ahmadabad and proceed towards the Deccan where he was confident to gain the support of the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda and hold on for long. But the news that Shuja' was at that time rapidly advancing from the east and Aurangzeb was far away in the Panjab inspired Dara with a new hope of capturing Agra and releasing his father Shah Jahan from the prison. He, therefore, changed his original plan of going to the Deccan, and, accompanied by his whole army and family started for Ajmer. He had hardly ~~covered~~ a short distance of journey than was the real truth revealed to him, viz, that Aurangzeb had triumphed over Shuja', Agra and Delhi had fallen under his complete control and an army had been despatched to invade Marwar to punish Jaswant Singh for his treachery in the battle of Khajwah. The disappointing news upset his scheme of marching northward, but at this very moment he

1. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Trans. Elliot & Dowson Vol. II, pp. 234-7.

received a message from Maharaja Jaswant Singh which encouraged him to continue his forward march and reach Ajmer. The Maharaja professed his devotion to Shah Jahan and promised unreserved support in the contest ~~of~~ against ¹ Aurangzeb. Seeing the prospects of Rajput support and the strategical position of Ajmer Dara decided to move on and face his mortal enemy in the heart of Rajputana.

But Aurangzeb was shrewd enough to foresee such an alliance between Dara and Jaswant Singh, and he, in order to checkmate any combination of their armies, asked Mirza Raja Jai Singh ^{to} wean away Jaswant Singh by offering him full pardon and restoration of his title and rank. Raja Jai Singh impressed upon Jaswant Singh the hopelessness of Dara's cause and the futility of fighting with the large and superior armies of the Emperor. Jaswant Singh decided to accept the offer made by Aurangzeb through Raja Jai Singh and leave Dara ² in this dangerous lurch. Dara appealed Jaswant Singh to fulfill his promise of military assistance but his earnest ³ requests produced no effect. The faithlessness of Jaswant Singh

1. Aqil Khan Razi, Waqiat-i Alamgiri, p. 111; Isardas Nagar Futuhat-i Alamgiri, p. 77. Vir Vinod, Vol. II, Part I, p. 687.

p. 238.
2. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Trans. Ell. & Dowson/ Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, pp. 113-14. Shaikh Muhammad Baqi, Mirat-i-Jahanuma, p. 361.

3. Sipahar Shikoh was sent by Dara to bring Jaswant Singh to the battle field but all in vain. Futuhat-i Alamgiri, p. 78; Muhammad Kazim, Alamgir Nama, Vol. I, p. 311; Waqiat-i Alamgiri, p. 114.

rendered the position of Dara untenable, but the Prince found no other alternative in this situation except to fight battle singlehanded now forced upon him. Fierce fighting raged for three days on the hills of Ajmer in which a number of veteran generals and thousands of soldiers perished.

Shaikh Mir on the side of Aurangzeb and Shah Nawaz Khan on that of Dara were killed.¹ When on the third day it became clear to Dara that fighting without reinforcement from any quarter would result in total destruction of whatever troops and baggage were left there, and his own capture and death, he left the field of battle, and accompanied by his son Sihpahr Shikoh, his general Firuz Mewati and ten or twelve faithful soldiers he fled in headlong haste towards Ahmadabad,² without caring about the fate of his family now left in Ajmer.

His flight was a signal for the complete plunder of the camp by the victorious soldiers, and the submission of the vanquished army to the Mughal Emperor. By the orders of Aurangzeb the dead bodies of Shaikh Mir and Shah Nawaz Khan

1. Actually Dara Shikoh had appointed his troopers with artillery between the landscape of Garhi Bitli and the mountain of Madar. He appointed Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi to defend the Kokha Range. On the other hand Aurangzeb appointed Purdil Khan with 250 men to proceed towards Kotal (Kokla). Rad Andaz Khan and Abdullah Khan along with 2 or 3 thousand well equipped soldiers appeared over the Koll range, and Baraq Andaz Khan Mir-i Atish took position at Hafiz Jamal Range. On next day Raja Rup Singh along with Rajputs proceeded towards Noor mountain from or via Madar range. In between this Shaikh Mir, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Diler Khan proceeded towards Bagh-i Abu Sayeed. Bahadur Khan along with 10,000 sawar, appeared from the Anasagar side and thus Dara was besieged from all sides. For details see Waqiat-i Alamgiri, pp. 115-120.

2. Waqiat-i Alamgiri, p. 119; Alamgir Namah, Vol. I, pp. 408-10.

were buried in the precinct of the Dargah of Shaikh Mu'in-uddin Chishti, and the two graves still stand to remind the pilgrims of this fateful battle and the sacrifice which these faithful warriors made in the cause of their respective masters. ¹ Aurangzeb himself visited the holy shrine and presented Rs.5,000 to the attendants as a thanks - offering ² for the victory.

Ajmer During the First Half of Aurangzeb's Reign: 1659-1679:

After his victory over Dara Shikuh at Deorai Aurangzeb did not stay in Ajmer for long. He appointed Tarbiyat Khan Barlas governor of the subah of Ajmer and made ³ important administrative arrangements. Tarbiyat Khan Barlas, a mansabdar of 4,000/4,000 held the office till 1660 when Marahamat Khan, a mansabdar of 2,000/900 replaced him. Marahmat Khan remained in the office for only two years, ⁴ 1661-62. We have no information with regards to the appointment of his successor; it was only after the lapse of five years that Abid Khan Turani who had served as Sadr-i kul in

1. Mirat-i Jahanuma, p. 361; Alamgir Namah, Vol. I, p. 330

Hatim Khan, Alamgir Namah, pp. 72-73.

Adab-i Alamgiri, p. 278.

2. *Mirat-i Jahanuma*, p. 361; *Adab-i Alamgiri*, p. 278

3. His original name was Shaif-Ullah and ^{he was} an Uzbek by birth. He had received the title of Tarbiyat Khan in 1651. For details, Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. I, pp. 493-98.

4. Alamgir Namah, p. 593.

1669, was appointed governor of Ajmer in 1667. He remained in the office till 1669 and an year after he was transferred to Multan. He held the mansab of 4,000/1500.¹ Izzat Khan, the new governor was an Indian Muslim, and a mansabdar of 3,000/ 2,000.² He continued to hold ^{the} office till 1672, and in 1673 Darab Khan was appointed to this post.³ In 1675-76 Syed Ahmad Khan was appointed a faujdar of Ajmer in place of Darab Khan;⁴ and within a year he was replaced

1. For details of his early life and career, Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, pp. 120-123.
2. Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 115.
3. Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol. II, pp. 34-42.

A copy of a sanad of madad-i ma'ash grant issued in 1673 under the seal and signature of Darab Khan suggests that he acted as a faujdar of Subah Ajmer in that year. The grant of 20 bigahs of land was renewed by the faujdar in favour of Saiyid Dan, a Mujawir of the shrine on 2 Sha'aban 1084^H (November 1673) for his maintenance. The copy of the sanad is included in Asnad-us Sanadid, pp. 246-247. It was in the 19th regnal year that Darab Khan left Ajmer to assume the charge of Mir Atash at the imperial court after the transfer of Mulla Afrit Khan from that office. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 150-151.

4. The intervening period between the transfer of Saiyid Ahmad Khan and the appointment of Saiyid Hamid Khan is too short to suggest that a new faujdar could have been appointed. However, Dr. Athar Ali is of the opinion that Amanet Khan was appointed faujdar of Ajmer during this short period. But this fact is not buttressed by the ~~in~~ evidence contained in contemporary literature. Moreover, in the petition presented by Bhoja Baqqal to the governor Iftekhhar Khan the name of Amanet Khan is not mentioned along with other names of the former faujdar, such as Darab Khan, Saiyid Ahmad Khan and Saiyid Ahmad Khan, who had favoured him in the past. Waq'a-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 20.

by Hamid Khan a Syed from Bokhara. He held the rank of 5000/¹ 5000 and enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor. In July 1678, on the death of his father he arrived at court and received² a robe of condolence.

In 1678 Iftekhhar Khan, son of Asalat Khan, an Irani noble, was appointed faujdar of Ajmer. He was a mansabdar of 3,000/1,200,³ and in the following year, 1679 he was succeeded⁴ by Tahawwar Khan alias Padshah Quli Khan. Tahawwar Khan was the son-in-law of 'Inayat Khan Khwafi, diwan of the khalisa, an Irani noble, and he held the rank of 4,000 zat. After his assassination 'Inayat Khan, his father-in-law, was appointed⁵ governor of Ajmer in 1680.

Thus, after the battle of Deorai Aurangzeb never visited Ajmer, till the Rathor rebellion, that broke out in 1679, compelled him to come and personally supervise the military operations. During this first half of his reign, from 1659 to 1679, the city of Ajmer remained quiet and peaceful, no revolts, no warfare and no disturbances as were witnessed in other

1. Ma'athir-i Alamgiri, p. 158.

2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 165.

3. Ma'asir-ul Umara, pp. 252-55.

4. Tahawwar Khan was appointed in Safar 1090 A.H./March 1679, Waqd'-i Ajmer, p. 167. For details about him see Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. I, pp. 448-53.

5. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. II, pp. 813-18.

parts of the Empire took place here. Political stability and peace contributed to the expansion and prosperity of the city, the capital of the subah. The governors or faujdars of Ajmer appointed during this period were experienced and trusted officers of the government, and they discharged their duties efficiently.

The City of Ajmer during the Rathor Rebellion

The Rathor rebellion that broke out in 1679 after the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh was one of the most momentous events of Aurangzeb's reign. Its impact on imperial politics was deep, many-sided and abiding. The rebellion, spreading like a movement, turned into a furious, complicated and prolonged warfare, and continued to rage in different forms till the end of the seventeenth century. The Rathors struggled hard not only to regain possession of Jodhpur but even to overthrow the Emperor and raise his son Prince Akbar to the royal throne. Prince Akbar, after having suffered discomfiture escaped into the land of the Marathas where Sambhaji, son of Shivaji, gave him safe refuge and pledged assistance in his enterprise. At the same time the prospects of support from the Muslim states of the Deccan hostile to Aurangzeb seemed plainly bright. The situation thus arising out of this chain of events was most threatening to the sovereignty of Aurangzeb

who, crossed Narmada in 1681 but only to get himself bogged down in the Deccan, ceaselessly fighting and campaigning, and never to return to the capital of the Empire in his life or death. From this time is to be noted a complete shifting of the centre of gravity in the political situation from the north to the south. The Rathor rebellion proved a devastating struggle to the Rajputs and the Mughals alike. Not only the material resources concentrated in the battle-fields by the belligerents were destroyed but agriculture and trade in areas under military operations suffered heavily. The imperial highway passing through Malwa into the Deccan was seriously threatened by the elements of lawlessness. The repressive measures adopted by the government to ^{crush} ~~curb~~ the rebellion drove a wedge between the Mughals and the Rajputs whom the Mughal Emperors had tried to weld together for the service of the state.

The various aspects of the rebellion, and the complex issues involved in it have been thoroughly analysed by the modern historians, and, therefore, ¹ ~~the want~~ do not require any reproduction of narrative even in a summary form. We are concerned here only with the events and developments which directly affected the city of Ajmer. The account is based mainly on Waqai Ajmer which is the principal source of our

1. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, pp. 214-248; Aurangzeb and his Times, pp. 203-246; Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1961, pp. 135-141.

information. A close study of this diary shows that the sole aim of Aurangzeb was to extend the sphere of direct Mughal administration on the vassal estate of Marwar. His policy was dictated by imperial considerations and the lure of gain. The imperial rules and regulations were to be rigidly enforced to settle the dispute of succession in the estate; integrity and honour of the ruling family and local customs and traditions formed no part of the imperial system; and the methods to be employed for achieving the goal were: 'overwhelming display of force, concentration of all resources at the disposal of the government and straight and incessant fighting until complete success was attained. The policy of vigorously applying the imperial rules in Marwar was in keeping with the pattern of the unvarying objective of establishing Mughal paramountcy on tributary estates which he continually followed throughout the period of his reign. The issue was purely political, and the motive of religious persecution has been unjustified^{ly} imputed to Aurangzeb. However, it must be admitted that Aurangzeb failed to cope with the situation diplomatically and find an amicable settlement of the dispute. Had he taken other considerations into account the war could well have been avoided.

Maharaja Jaswant Singh died at Jamrud on 20 December 1678 without leaving a son. On the receipt of news^{this} Aurangzeb ordered that the whole of Marwar including Jodhpur, with the

exemption of only two parganas, was to be resumed to the khalisa, and accordingly government officers like fauidar, qiladar, kotwal and amin were appointed to take charge of the administration of the capital city of Marwar. The officers posted in Jodhpur were: Tahir Khan, Khidmat Guzar Khan, Shaikh Anwar and Abdur Rahim. On 19 January 1679 the Emperor himself proceeded to ^{Ajmer} ~~Jodhpur~~ to "overawe opposition and direct the military operations that might be necessary. " He arrived in Ajmer on 28 February 1679 and paid a visit to the shrine. As the Maharaja was heavily indebted to the imperial exchequer royal orders were issued to seize the treasure buried in the fort of Siwanah and to escheat the entire property belonging to the deceased. Kesri Singh Mutasaddi along with Raghunath Singh and other Rajputs prepared a list of the property of the late Raja and presented before Iftekhar Khan, the governor of Ajmer. At the same time high officers, like the wazir Asad Khan, Shaista Khan and Prince Akbar were summoned to Ajmer to assist the Emperor in the administrative arrangements of Marwar. Having established his direct rule over Marwar the Emperor returned to Delhi, 12 April 1679, and reimposed jaziyah. In the following month Khan-i Jahan Bahadur, who had been sent to occupy the country and demolish temples, came to the court to give a detailed report of his success, and was highly praised for his services. "The cart-loads of idols he had brought away were ordered to ^{be} cast down in the

Armaury Square of Delhi fort and under the steps of the
¹
 Jama Mosque to be trodden upon."

According to the Waga'i Ajmer the Rathor sardars of Jodhpur made a representation to Iftekhhar Khan in the following terms:

"During the rule of the Mughal dynasty,
 no bhumi or zaindar has been turned out
 of his native place (watan) even on the
 commission of any specific fault. The
 Rathors, who have ~~a~~ways been loyal and
 faithful, ask simply that they be not
 subjected to exile."

The Rathors were prepared to give over the whole of Marwar but not its capital Jodhpur. Iftekhhar Khan held that according to imperial rules the watan could not be conferred
²
 upon either a woman or a servant. The Rathors expressed their determination to safeguard their interests at the cost of their lives, but declined to suggest any name of a family
³
 member who could succeed to the gaddi of Jodhpur. Iftekhhar

1. For details, Ma'asir-i 'Alamgiri, pp. 172, 173; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, p. 259; Mirat-i Ahmadi, I, p. 277, Waga'-i Ajmer, I, pp. 72, 73, 74, 81, 76, 82, 83; History of Aurangzeb, III, pp. 217, 218.

2. Waga'-i Ajmer, pp. 80-83, 117-118.

3. Waga'-i Ajmer, pp. 116, 141.

Khan and other Mughal officers concluded that the sardars had a plan to keep the control of Marwar in their own hands, a position that was hardly acceptable to the government. When Aurangzeb learnt, during his stay in Ajmer, that two of Jaswant Singh's widows had given birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore, he did not change his former orders of bringing Marwar under the direct control of the imperial government.¹ Though he accepted the genuineness^{he} of the two sons, he refused to concede to their legitimate claims to the estate of their father. In the first week of June 1679 he, on the other hand, recognized Inder Singh, the chieftain of Nagor and grand-nephew of Jaswant, as Raja of Marwar in return for a succession fee of Rs. 36 lakhs and sent to Jodhpur to take possession of the estate.²

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1. According to Khafi Khan the two sons, Ajit and Dalthamman, were born at Jamrud; and Tod supports this view. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, p. 259; Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, II, p. 47. A few weeks after the arrival of the family at Lahore, one of the sons died, only Ajit survived to play a prominent role in the history of Marwar. After the birth of these two children the Rathors submitted a petition to Aurangzeb requesting him for the grant of the Raja to the heirs of the late Raja. The Emperor refused to concede to their request but promised to confer tika and mansab when they reached the age of discretion. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 177.
 2. The Rathor leaders were opposed to Inder Singh's succession to the gaddi of Jodhpur because he was hostile to the family of Jaswant Singh, and they had represented to Iftekhar Khan that the tika should not be conferred on Inder Singh till a son was born to the rani of the late Raja. Waqat-i Alamgiri, pp. 143-144.

Ajmer

At the begining of July the Maharaja's family arrived in Delhi, and they pressed the claims of Ajit Singh to the ¹gaddi of Marwar. They made representation through Khan Jahan Bahadur "whose breach of court etiquette in forcing an interview greatly exasperated Aurangzeb who was already enraged at the conduct of the Rajputs in having killed the Mughal officer at Attock."² The Emperor refused to accept the demands of the Rathors, and ordered that the family should be put under guard. But the Rathors, having dressed the Ranis in male attire and taken Ajit Singh with them, fled away to Jodhpur before ~~the~~³ day-break. The Emperor then sent a strong army into Marwar under the command of Sarbuland Khan, and a fortnight later, *on* 14 August, he himself started for Ajmer to direct the military operations.⁴ The Rajputs, emboldened by the safe escape of

1. The Rathor sardars who had accompanied the family of Jaswant Singh held a meeting at Peshawar and decided to instruct their Wakil at the royal court to press for the restoration of Jodhpur to the Raja's family, but if the petition was not accepted by the Emperor, he should endeavour to secure the grant for Sojat and Jaitrana. -At the same time they sent a messenger to the Pardhan Diwan in Jodhpur asking him not to oppose royal orders but cooperate with the government officials engaged in making settlement in Marwar. However, Pardhan Diwan and other Rathor sardars of Jodhpur did not approve of this suggestion. They started plundering and collecting revenues forcibly. G.D. Sharma, Marwar war as depicted in the Rajasthan Sources, Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1973, pp.

2. Aurangzeb And His Times, p. 223.

3. For details, Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 177-178; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, 259-260; History of Aurangzeb, pp. 219-222.

4. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p. 262.

Ajit Singh and the arrival of Durga Das, began to collect revenues from the parganas and take control of local administration. They created disorders every where and defied the royal authority. ¹ As Tahir Khan, faujdar of Jodhpur, and Inder Singh, the Raja of Marwar, had failed to maintain law and order in the estate and handle the situation tactfully, the Emperor removed both of them from the scene; Tahir Khan ² was deprived of his rank while Inder Singh of his raj.

Security Arrangements in the City of Ajmer

The Rajput rebels had become so bold and daring that they started invading and plundering the villages in the environs of Ajmer. Their frequent attacks threatened the security of the city and caused consternation among its inhabitants. The faujdar of the subah and other officials held a meeting to discuss measures for the safety of the city and its suburbs against the attacks and depredations of the Rajputs at present in open revolt. The prominent citizens

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1. Waga'i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 125, 296, 309, 314. Durgadas was the son of Askaran, a minister in the government of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. It was Durgadas who played a heroic role in taking away Ajit Singh and his mother from Delhi. History of Aurangzeb, pp. 220-221.
 2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 179. In his article entitled A Re-examination of Factors leading to the Breach Between Aurangzeb and Rana Raj Singh, published in the Proceeding of Indian History Congress, 1965, pp. 162-76. Dr. Satish Chandra has defended the policy of Aurangzeb towards Inder Singh. He holds that control of regency over Marwar would have upset the balance of power in Rajputana and further complicated Mughal Rajput-relations.

assembled at the residence of the faujdar to know what measures the government had adopted to ensure their safety against the imminent danger of invasion of the city. Tahawwar Khan, the faujdar of Ajmer and commander of Mughal forces, deputed superintendants (thanedars) of police to the villages where disturbances were taking place, and he himself frequently marched with select troops to supervise the security arrangements in the trouble-hit areas. The gates of the city were closed early in the night and no one was allowed to enter. All these arrangements were made under the direction of Aurangzeb who had taken up his headquarters at Ajmer, and quietly spent the month of Ramzan in October in keeping fast^s and ~~doing~~ usual prayers, while his son Muhammad Akbar and Tahawwar Khan organized and led the military operations.¹

The Battle at Pushkar Lake

As was feared, the Rajputs in thousands marched on Ajmer and tried to enter the city from the side of Pushkar Lake. It was the Mairtia class of Rathors which under the command of their warrior-leader Raj Singh had appeared. Tahawwar Khan, the faujdar, was busy in inspecting the troops in the morning hours when news of the approach^{ed} of the enemy were conveyed to him. Forthwith the faujdar moved to

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 346.

check and encounter Raj Singh, and a severe fighting between their troops ensued on 3 September 1679 in front of the temple of the Baar near the sacred lake of Pushkar. The battle raged for three continuous days. On the third day furious charge of arrows and bullets followed hand to hand fighting; Raj Singh was found killed in the heaps of dead bodies. More than one hundred and twenty Rathor soldiers were killed, while the Mughal lost only thirty four men. The dead bodies of the Mughals were buried on the bank of Pushkar lake. In this engagement Zulfiqar Beg Turk, a mansabdar of 105 zat and Shah Beg Khan exhibited feats of valour and were honoured and rewarded for their services in the cause of the Empire.

War with the Rana of Mewar

The occupation of Jodhpur by the Mughals had exposed Mewar to the threat of invasion and its chieftain Maharana Raj Singh tried to avert it by making professions of loyalty and assurances of non-intervention in the affairs of Malwa. He sent his son to attend the court and assure the Emperor about his loyalty and neutrality. When the Emperor

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1. Waqat-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 346-52. The waqat contains a list of mansabdars who with their contingents took part in the battle, it also gives the names of those who were killed. A number of wounded soldiers who had fled away from the field died on their way or succumbed to their injuries later. pp. 352, 360.

was returning from Ajmer towards his capital the Mewar Prince was granted audience and rewarded richly on 12 April 1679 (1 Rabi-ul Awwal 1090 H.). But after the escape of the Rathors from Delhi the situation underwent drastic changes. The mother of Ajit Singh was a Mewar Princess, and the Maharana for reasons of this close relationship could not refuse to support the efforts of the Rathors for recapturing Jodhpur. Moreover, the Maharana wanted to extend the sphere of his influence in Marwar and establish his leadership in the whole of Rajasthan. He, therefore, openly espoused the cause of the Rathors and declared war on the Mughals. Khafi Khan writes that Aurangzeb sent a farman to the Maharana to accept jaiziyah and turn Jaswant's son and his supporters out from Jodhpur. The awe, which the devastation in Marwar had inspired, deterred the Maharana from carrying the matters to extremity. Unable to resist the imperial army, the Maharana sent his agents with suitable presents and a petition expressing his loyalty and promising not to help the sons of Jaswant Singh to the Emperor¹ who was at present ~~was~~ staying at Ajmer.

The Maharana was, however, in secret alliance with the Rathors, and making preparations of war with the imperialists. His devotion to the principle of legitimacy had prompted him to

1. Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, 261-262.

play the role of the champion of Ajit Singh by opposing the central government with all the strength at his command. "He repaired the fortifications of Chittor, closed the pass of Deobari which leads to his capital.¹" Aurangzeb sent Hasan Ali Khan at the head of seven thousand picked soldiers to attack Udaipur, and himself left Ajmer on 10 December 1679 (7 Zilqa'ad 1090 H.) with his main army to reinforce the Mughal general. Hasan Ali Khan ravaged the Maharana's territory most mercilessly and the imperialists conducted the war with relentless severity. Death and destruction were let loose on Merwar, towns and temples were destroyed, and fields and huts were devastated and burnt. Unable to withstand the aggression or check the devastation of his territory, the Maharana vacated Udaipur and with his family retired into the hills of the Aravali mountain. The capital of Mewar was occupied by the Mughal officers, and the Emperor after placing it under the charge of his son Prince Muhammad Akbar returned to Ajmer in March 1680. The Rajputs, secure in their unassailable defiles, resorted to the tactics of guerrilla warfare, making surprise attacks on the Mughal forces and cutting their supplies. The son of Maharana, Bhim Singh invaded Gujarat and captured Idar. In the course of their raids into Gujarat the Rajputs destroyed the mosques in large number.²

1. History of Aurangzeb, p. 225.

2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 181, 182; Mirat-i Ahmadi, I, 294; Vir Vinod, 471.

Measures of Defence in the City of Ajmer:

Throughout this whole period of fighting between the imperialists and the Rajputs the city of Ajmer remained the military headquarters of Aurangzeb and the centre of all administrative activities. The Emperor continued to live in the city during this period (August 1679-September 1681) holding his court regularly, directing military operations and issuing orders to governors and officers of the Empire. The royal court and camp provided means of employment to the people of Ajmer, and stimulated the growth of trade and commerce, thus directly contributing to the prosperity of the city. However, the citizens of Ajmer passed all this time under the shadow of war, and the threat of surprise attack by the enemy loomed large in their minds. The army quartered in the city kept a vigilant watch on the movements of the enemy, and carried out effective measures of defence to ensure the safety of the inhabitants. When in the beginning of September 1679 the Rathors invaded Ajmer the government took up steps for its security, and the Mughal army defeated and routed them in the battle of Pushkar. For more than a year the city did not face any danger of outside invasion and enjoyed stability and peace. But in January 1681 a disturbing situation arose in the wake of Prince Muhammad Akbar's revolt, necessitating vigorous measures for the defence of the city.

The Rajputs, having failed to achieve any decisive success in their grim struggle with Aurangzeb, resolved upon a bold stroke of raising a Prince to the imperial throne and involving the imperialists in civil war. The enterprise, if carried on successfully, would subvert the regime of the implacable foe and throw the Empire into confusion. More than twenty two years of his reign had passed but no Prince of the royal blood appeared to challenge the sovereignty of his father in imitation of examples set by the members of the ruling dynasty in the past. Realising this basic defect in the Mughal system of succession the Rajput leaders excited the ambition of the sons of Aurangzeb to seize the imperial throne and formed conspiracies to shatter the basis of his power and prestige. They first approached Prince Mu'azzam and offered their full support if he decided to proclaim himself king and wage war of succession against his father now faced with a serious crisis. But the Prince was prevented from undertaking the rash enterprise by her mother Nawab Bai. Then they went to Prince Muhammad Akbar with ^a similar offer and found him agreeable to their ^{his} sister scheme. The Prince had recently suffered disgrace on account of his repeated failures in campaigns in Mewar. This factor caused estrangement between the son and the father. On 10 January 1681 Prince Akbar crowned himself Emperor and bestowed ranks and titles on his adherents. Tahawwar Khan was promoted to the post of

Amir-ul Umara and the mansab of 7,000. His army swelled¹ to 70,000 men, including forty thousand Rajput soldiers.

With this huge army Prince Akbar marched on Ajmer which was at present denuded of the armed forces and in a state of defencelessness. The regular and best fighting forces of the Mughal government were engaged far away in Marwar or Mewar and could not be immediately gathered for the purpose of repelling the invasion. The troops under Aurangzeb formed a total of less than ten thousand, including a large number of noncombatants -- personal attendants, clerks, eunuchs and unserviceable soldiers. The news of the enemy's dash struck terror in the imperial camp and created conditions in the city which could scarcely be distinguished from anarchy. But Aurangzeb remained unshaken and did not lose his self-confidence. He proved equal to the challenge and by a mixture of audacity and adroitness broke the grand design of his adversaries. He issued urgent orders to the imperial generals to immediately rush to Ajmer with their contingents, and accordingly Shihab-ud-din Khan, Hamid Khan and Prince Mu'azzam reached the headquarters, raising the strength of the defence to 16,000 men. At the same time vigorous measures for the defence of the city were adopted. Entrenchments were dug around the royal camp, and guns were

1. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 197-204; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II pp. 265-276.

placed on the neighbouring hills. The roads and passes leading to the city were guarded by the military men. This work of city defence was done under the supervision of Brahmanand Khan, the Mir Atish. The Emperor himself inspected the troops at the muster, and visited localities of Ajmer. Asad Khan, the Amir-ul Umara, was directed to guard the Pushkar lake, while Abu Nasar Khan, his deputy, was to keep watch on the western side of the city. The streets of ~~the~~ Ajmer leading to the imperial camp were fortified with guns, and Himmat Khan was put in charge of Garh-Bit^{li}, where the agents of Prince Akbar and Tahawwar Khan had been detained.

Prince Akbar was, on the other hand, slow in reaching Ajmer, which he did in a fortnight. This inordinate delay in covering a distance of 120 miles gave an opp^ortunity to his father to organize the defence of the city and ^{to} strengthen ^{his} military position. In the first week of February Aurangzeb moved out of the city and encamped six miles south of it on the historic field of Deorai where two decades back he had inflicted a crushing defeat on his luckless brother Dara Shikoh. Prince Ak^hbar advanced to Kurki, 24 miles south west of Ajmer and marshalled his troops in a battle array. From the very outset desertion of the Mughal soldiers had started in the camp of the Prince, and the escape of Tawwahr Khan completely demoralised his army and

and upset the plan of offensive. Even the toops of thirty thousand soldiers fled hurriedly when they suspected treachery on the part of the Prince. Aurangzeb wrote a false letter to Akbar in which he praised him on his success in bringing all the best Rajput blades within the reach of the imperial army to be destroyed root and branch in accordance with the scheme already worked out by him. It was contrived that this letter should fall into the hands of Durgadas, the principal leader of the Rajputs and the architect of the conspiracy against Aurangzeb. The ruse succeeded and the Rajputs fell into the trap.¹ The absence of Tahawwar Khan from the camp confirmed their doubts which the Emperor's letter had roused, and when they failed to meet the Prince who was asleep at this crucial time they felt sure that the Mughals had formed a treacherous plot against them. Exasperated and alarmed to extremity, the Rajputs saw their safety in headlong flight from the place selected for their final annihilation. So, leaving the Prince in his camp, they took to their heels, and when

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1. Isardas Nagar, Fatuh-i-'Alamgiri, pp. 153-59; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p. 269. The author of Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri does not mention any thing about the letter.
 2. For details of Tahawwar Khan's defection and his murder in the Court of Aurangzeb, Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, p. 201; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p. 269. Vir-Vinod, II, p. 649. History of Aurangzeb, III pp. 240-241.

the Prince woke from his fatal sleep he could find no trace either of his army or equipage. "The dream of contesting the throne of Delhi vanished with the night." Accompanied by his family and a band of his old faithful retainers the crestfallen Prince fled hurriedly, and after wandering for two days joined his allies who had by this time discovered the fraud played on them by the clever king.¹ Durgadas bitterly repented his folly, and bore the blame for the collapse of the project. He took the Prince under his protection, but finding no place of safety either in Rajasthan or Gujarat he conducted him under Rajput escort into Konkan where Sambhaji gave him refuge and promised wholehearted support in his struggle against Aurangzeb, hated and feared not only by the Rajputs and the Marathas but also by the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. Thus, superior generalship and diplomatic manipulation proved more effective than all the exertions made by the Rajputs.²

1. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, 203-206; 211; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, 275-77; Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, II, pp. 892-893.

2. History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 244.

The Imperial Court at Ajmer
After Akbar's Flight:

The city of Ajmer which witnessed in these months military activities on a large scale was ~~the~~ now the scene of rejoicings and celebrations. Aurangzeb continued to stay in the city and conduct administration until he resolved to cross ^{the} Narmada in September 1681 in pursuit of Akbar who had taken refuge in the court of Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji. On 26 January 1681 news were conveyed to the Emperor that Akbar and his allies had fled away from the ~~feild~~ field of battle. It was a providential victory which the imperialists gained without fighting, and orders were given to celebrate it by playing the music for three days. The courtiers and nobles offered congratulations and presents to the Emperor. Mohammad Ali Khan, the Mir-i Saman, was sent to confiscate the properties left by Prince Akbar, while Darbar Khan, ~~the~~ Vazir, to bring the members of the family found there. A strange force under Shah Alam was despatched in search of the fugitive, and several distinguished officers like - Qulich Khan, Inder Singh and Khan-i Zaman -- were ordered to help him. It was here that some of the officers in the service of Akbar and the four 'Ulema who had given fatwa in favour of the rebel were severly

punished by the royal orders. They were mercilessly whipped and thrown into dungeons. The Princess Zeb-un-nisa, who had secret correspondence with Akbar, was deprived of her allowance of four lakhs or rupees and confined in the Salimgarh fortress.¹

Some of the appointments made in this period were as follows:²

<u>Name</u>	<u>Post</u>
1. Ashraf Khan	First <u>Bakhshi</u>
2. Brahamand Khan	<u>Mir Tuzak</u>
3. Mughal Khan	<u>Akhta Begi</u>
4. Kahghar Khan	News Reader
5. 'Inayat Khan	<u>Darogha-i Buyutat</u>
6. Badi-uz-zaman	<u>Diwan-i Khalisa</u>
7. Hamid Khan .	<u>Fauidar</u> of Bhojpur
8. Mirak Khan	<u>Fauidar</u> of Julandhar Doab
9. I'timad Khan	<u>Diwan-i Tan</u>
10. Qalich Khan	<u>Sadr-us Sadur</u>

1. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 203, 204, 205, 206;
Vir Vinod, II, p. 650.

2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 205-207.

It was during the stay of Aurangzeb in Ajmer that a treaty of peace was concluded with the Maharana of Udaipur on 24 June 1681. The new Raja of Mewar, Jai Singh, possessed neither the military skill nor the organizing capacity to continue the struggle against the Mughals, and in the face of the superior forces even a successful resistance was held impossible. Through the intermediary of Shyam Singh of Bikaner the Maharana sued for peace and personally visited Prince Muhammad 'Azam. He agreed to cede to the Empire the parganas of Mandal, Pur and Bednur in lieu of the jaziya demanded from his kingdom. The Mughals restored Mewar to Jai Singh, and withdrew their forces from the territory. The Rana was made the mansabdar of 5,000¹.

The settlement with the Maharana brought hostilities to an end in Mewar and ^{so also the} disturbing tensions in the imperial court. The new atmosphere provided an occasion for rejoicing and celebration. The Emperor, noticeably happy at success, celebrated the marriage of his son Muhammad 'Azam with Shahr Banu, the daughter of Adil Shah

1. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, p. 208.

of Bijapur, and that of Kambakhsh, his younger son, with Kalyan Kumari, the daughter of the zamindar of Manoharpur¹. At this time Saiyid Muhammad of Qannauj a learned divine, came to Ajmer and paid^a visit to the Emperor. Khan Mirza, the envoy of UR Gunt, also visited the court, and received costly gifts, robes of honour² and money. One day both Shah Alam Bahadur and A'zam started from their respective camps to go to the court to pay homage to their father, but on the way each one tried to reach earlier than the other and quarrel arose between the two brothers over this small issue. When the Emperor was apprised of this incident he laid down that each Prince would visit the court in the time fixed for him.³ In 1681 he made some other appointments and transfers of officer which are given below.

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|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Khan-i Zaman Khan | governor of Burhanpur |
| 2. Tarbiyat Khan | " " Jaunpur |
| 3. Nizam-ud-din | <u>faujdar</u> of Sirhind |
| 4. Brahamand Khan | <u>darogha</u> of Ghudal Khana |
| 5. Lutfullah Khan | <u>Arz-i Mukarrar</u> . |

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1. Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri, pp. 210, 211, 212.
 2. Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri, pp. 207; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, IV, pp. 609-611.
 3. Storia-De-Moghar, II, pp. 465-66.
 4. Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri,

Departure of Aurangzeb From Ajmer, September, 1681:

These celebrations and normal proceedings at the imperial court were rudely interrupted by the rumblings of a new menace from the Deccan. It was reported to the Emperor that Prince Akbar had taken refuge in the court of Sambhaji and both were engaged in working out details of a grand alliance with the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda to topple down his regime. Aurangzeb, with his characteristic promptitude and determination, resolved to checkmate the design of the enemies by striking the first blow at them. He announced his decision of proceeding to the Deccan, and made necessary arrangements for the security and administration of Ajmer. Prince Muhammad 'Azim, son of Shah 'Alam, was given the supreme command of the imperial troops employed in the subah to fight with the insurgents. Asad Khan was to serve as his guardian and supervise military operations in Marwar, now the main theatre of war. Some of the important officers posted in Ajmer to serve under Prince 'Azim were : 'Itiqad Khan, Kamal-ud-din son of Diler Khan, Raja Bhim Singh, Dindar Khan, 'Inayat Khan, the faujdar of Ajmer, and Saiyid Yusuf Bukhari, the gila'adar of Garh Bitli^{they}, were directed to assist the Prince in his campaigns against the Rathors. Aurangzeb, having completed

all these arrangements, left Ajmer on 18 September 1681¹ and marched towards the Deccan with his army and court.

After the departure of Aurangzeb the city of Ajmer gradually lost its importance. It remained no longer the seat of royalty and the centre of military and administrative activities. With the removal of the imperial court the splendour and glory of the city also departed, and with the conclusion of peace with Mewar the din and turmoil of war passed away. The life in the city became normal, and conditions of quietude and security began to prevail. The city never faced any danger of attack from outside, though desultory war continued to rage unabated in Marwar. The Rathors made repeated attempts to regain their lost-territory and force their way to Ajmer, but they suffered defeat and heavy losses in armed clashes. However, they were now and then successful in intercepting supplies of food grains into the city by blocking roads and stopping communications with the main towns and highways of the province. Within a short time the military situation in the Deccan compelled Aurangzeb to recall generals and contingents from Ajmer to reinforce his position. In compliance with the royal orders Prince Muhammad 'Azim and

1. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 212, 213; Tarikh-i-Alamgiri, p. 119.

and Asad Khan left Ajmer, the former reached ^{*the Court*} ~~Burhanpur~~ earlier than the latter. During their absence the faujdars of the subah discharged the military as well as the administrative functions; they were responsible for launching campaigns against the Rathors and protecting the city from their raids. During this time 'Inayat Khan held the office of the faujdar of subah Ajmer, but he died in 1682 while Asad Khan was still staying in the city of Ajmer perhaps vested with supreme powers in the conduct¹ of Administration.

The absence of competent and experienced generals and reduction in the number of imperial troops provided opportunities to the Rathors to create disturbances and drive out the Mughals from their land. A strong force of 3,000 Rathors gathered at Mairtha to challenge 'Itiqad Khan, the local faujdar, in a battle. But in the fighting that ensued they were routed; nearly 500 Rajputs and 300 Mughals were killed, and a large number of soldiers and some distinguished officers were wounded.² Later, they captured the fort of Siwanah, killing Purdil Khan, son of Firoz Khan Mewati in an encounter in April 1685. They raided the pargana

1. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 217, 223, 241, 242; Tarikh-i-Alamgiri, pp. 125, 128.

2. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 214, 215, 217; Futuhat-i-Alamgiri, pp. 202, 204.

of Mandalpore and thoroughly sacked it.¹ However, they failed to achieve their avowed objective of seizing the Mughal posts and establish their sway in Jodhpur. Raja Bhim Singh, son of late Maharana Raja Singh, who was serving in the Mughal government at Ajmer was also called in the Deccan by the Emperor, and he had his audience in the court in July 1696.² No information regarding the appointment of faujdars of Ajmer during this period is available. It was in 1688-89 that Shuja'at Khan, the governor of Gujarat, was appointed the faujdar of Ajmer. He was an efficient and energetic administrator; he lived for about six months in Ahmadabad and six months in Jodhpur. He successfully waged wars with the Rathors and surmounted the difficulties which the imperial government faced in Marwar. At the same time he adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Rathor chiefs and strove to bring to an end the bitter and prolonged warfare through means of a negotiated settlement.³

1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 256.

2. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 256.

3. His name was Kartalab Khan, and he was an Irani noble holding the rank of 5000/5000. He was the mutasaddi of the port of Surat. In 28 regnal year (1684) he was promoted to the governorship of Gujarat. Impressed by his abilities the Emperor assigned him the task of administering the province of Ajmer and dealing with the problem of the Rathor rebellion. His rank was increased to 5000/5000 in 33 regnal year. He continued to hold the post of the subedari of Gujarat till his death in 1701, 45 regnal year. He served as faujdar of Ajmer for the period of

Ishwar Das, the newly appointed Amin of Jodhpur also played an important role in striking a conciliation between the Rathors and the Mughal government. Durgadas, tired of endless fighting and roving, responded to the friendly gestures of Ishwar Das and expressed desire for peace. He wrote a letter to the Emperor that he would send ^{ya'} Saif-un-Nisa Begam, the daughter of Prince Akbar to the court provided no harm was done to his home in Jodhpur by the Mughal officers. The Emperor approved his proposal, and Shuja'at Khan presented both Durgadas and the Princess before His Majesty on 20 May 1698¹. A robe of honour and rank of 200 zat was bestowed upon him, and Aurangzeb issued orders to Shuja'at Khan to give to him (Durgadas) one lakhs of rupees and assign Merta to him as a personal estate. After some time Durgadas brought Buland Akhtar, the son of Prince Akbar, to the imperial court, and was rewarded with pearls. The pargana of Dhandhuka was also given to him

Continued from previous page f.n. no.4

1689-90. According to Bhimsen he hold the faujdari of Ajmer till 1701, but this is not supported by other contemporary writers. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 247; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, p. 380; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I, p. 312; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp. 706-708; Nuskha-i Dilkusha, p. 131.

1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 240; Marwar Under the Mughal Emperors, p. 139.

on this occasion.¹ In his meeting with the Emperor, Durgadas pleaded the cause of Ajit Singh and succeeded in securing pardon for his master. At last Ajit Singh also submitted and expressed his desire to attend the court. Ajit Singh was made an imperial mansabdar; Jalor, Sanchar and Siwana were granted to him as jagirs and a mansab of 1,500/500² was conferred on him. But this settlement did not last long, and both Durgadas and Ajit Singh again organized insurrection against the Mughals. Aurangzeb directed Prince 'Anam, the governor of Gujarat, to sternly deal with the rebels and suppress the revolt. Consequently, hostilities were renewed, and though compromise was patched up in 1705,² real peace could only be established in Marwar during the reign of Bahadur Shah I, the successor of Aurangzeb.

During this period nine more governors were appointed in the subah of Ajmer.⁴ A list of containing

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1. Mirat-i Ahmadī, I, pp. 332-33.
 2. Mirat-i Ahmadī, I, pp. 341, 343; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 395.
 3. For details, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, pp. 232-236; Marwar under the Mughals, pp. 141-143.
 4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, vol. I, pp. 295, 498-503, vol. II, pp. 489-91, 795-807; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 470-3. The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p. 229; Medieval India - A Miscellany, Volume One, pp. 117, 118.

their names, mansab and tenure is given below:

<u>Name of the governor</u>	<u>Period of service</u>	<u>Mansab</u>
1. Safi Khan	1689-1695	3,500/2,000
2. Mujahid Khan Saiyid Hamid	1695-1696	3,000/1,500
3. Tarbiyat Khan Mir Khalil	1696 -	2,000/1,200
4. Mujahid Khan Saiyid Hamid	1696 -	3,000/1,500
5. Saiyid Abdullah Khan	1696-1703	2,500/-
6. Hasan Ali Khan Barha	1703-1704	2,000/1,000
7. Prince Azam	1704-1706	40,000/40,000
8. Sher Andaz Khan Panni	(Deputy)	-
9. Zabardast Khan, Mohammad Khalil	1706-1707	-

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CHAPTER - III

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY OF AJMER

The administration introduced in the city of Ajmer was in form and design similar to that which operated in other leading cities of the Empire. It had the same body of officers, arrangements of internal security, system of local taxation and civic amenities. Being the capital of the province, the city of Ajmer was the seat of the provincial government, from where the entire administration of the province was controlled in accordance with the rules and instructions issued by the central government. The governor was concerned not only with the provincial administration but also with the local administration of the city. The supreme executive head of the subah was sometimes designated as subedar and sometimes as faujdar. Both were equal in authority but differed in rank. The subedar generally held the rank from 2,500 to 7,000 while the faujdars held the rank from 500 to 5,000. The number of subedars far exceeded ~~to~~ that of faujdars appointed in the reign of Aurangzeb. Shuja'at Khan, the faujdar of Ajmer held the highest mansab of 5,000. The posts of subedar and diwan of the province were held separately by two officers provides only one example of an exception to this

rule which was followed in every province.¹ The faujdar of sarkar Ajmer was in fact the subedar of the province, and as such, superior in rank and authority to the faujdar of any other sarkar of the subah. The faujdars of other sarkars were under his control and appointed on his² recommendations.

Powers and Functions of the Governor in Relation to the city Administration

Maintenance of Law and Order:

The Mughal governor was the chief executive head of the city administration and the main agency through which the central government exercised control not only over the capital city of the province but all over the province. Maintenance of law and order in the city and^z defend it against outside attack were the principal functions of the governor. It was his foremost duty to get the khutba recited in the mosques of the city and coins struck in the name of the reigning monarch. He was also required to stop robbery,³ ensure the safety of the roads and administer justice. In

1. Wada-i Aimer, p. 167.

2. Wada-i Aimer, pp. 103-104, 178-9; 253, 312, 402-3.

3. Ain-i Akbari, pp. 223-25; Hidayat-ul Qawwaid, ff. 13a-16a; Mirat-i Ahmadi, I, 163-170; J.N. Sarkar, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, 183-188.

the discharge of these important functions the governor was assisted by the kotwal, the chief of the city police, who was appointed directly by the Emperor. The kotwal was to arrest and punish the thieves in the city, execute the decrees passed by the governor or the qazi of the city, stop the distillation of spirits, patrol round the city and in its streets, secure surety bonds from dancing women and bad characters to behave properly and gather information of all kinds from every corner of the city. " At places of sale and purchase, at places of entertainment where spectators assemble, keep watchmen to seize the pickpockets and the snatchers-up of things and bring them¹ to court for punishment."

The fort in the city of Ajmer, built by Akbar and now called Mag^azine, was the official residence and court of the governor. He entered it for the first time with much ceremony, and kept it under his exclusive control till the time of his transfer. The fort also served as the headquarters of the imperial army posted to serve under the instructions of the governor. Sometimes the governor lived in the palaces constructed by Akbar and Jahangir in the city fort. Under the normal conditions of peace and

1. Mughal Administration, pp. 48-52.

security the subedar held his court more than four times a week, but in the period of emergency and crisis he could not spare much time to devote himself to the routine business of the administration. When he moved out of the city in connection with same official business for a short period the court remained suspended, but in case he went for a longer time his deputy held the court and heard the petitions. Both Ifte^Khar Khan and Tahawwar Khan appointed their respective deputies who exercised all the functions vested in the office of the subedar. The subedar appointed the thanedars or police officers to control the law and order situation in the city. During the time of the Rathor rebellion his responsibilities for the security of the city immensely increased. He had the power to transfer, dismiss and punish the thanedars. Tahawwar Khan made excellent arrangements for the protection of the city of Ajmer. He asked the Kotwal to close down the main entrance of Ajmer city and decided to appoint 200 matchlockmen and 100 troopers.¹

During the Rathor rebellion the crimes of robbery and theft increased on a widescale every where in the province, even the city of Ajmer, the seat of the government, was not

1. Waga-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 335, 342, 53, 54, 69, 433, 575.

free from the evils. The Waga-i Sarkar Ajmer is replete with numerous instances of robbery and theft committed in towns and villages of the province. A few instances regarding the city of Ajmer are given below:

1. The Chitta tribe of Ajaisar, a village in the haveli of Ajmer, was severely chastised by the fauidar for the crimes of robbery, its members had committed in the area. The Thori and the Mairtia were the other clans, notorious for thefts and robbery.¹
2. It was reported that two cows, belonging to different owners in Madar Gate in the city² were stolen by the thieves.
3. On the occasion of the annual urs ceremony two thieves in the dress of beggars entered a house situated near the shrine and seized the movable belongings, and were about to run away with them when the owner saw them and caught them redhanded. They were produced before the gazi who in accordance with the holy law³ ordered for the cutting of their hands.

1. Waga-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 28-29, 66, 76, 131.

2. Waga-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 20, 28.

3. Waga-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 29.

4. The cloth shops in the city were looted by the burglars. The owners of these shops were Thakur and Sabha Mahajan. Not only cloth was stolen but cash was also taken away by the thieves.¹
5. The Waga'-i Nawis of Ajmer reported that the thieves held men to ransom and freed them on payment of money. Once they kept a gardner who lived outside the city of Ajmer as captive and set him free only on the payment of money by his relations.²
6. In several villages of the haveli and pargana Ajmer, assigned as jagir or madad-i ma'ash, thefts were committed. Reports of cases of burglary and robbery were received from Budhwara, Rajnagar, Kokhra, Jharol and Daxtra ~~were received~~.³
7. The agents of Waga'-i Nigar reported from several places of the province that some jagirdars and zamindars were involved in one way or another in the incidents of theft and robbery. They provided the robbers with shelter and help. But no action

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 33, 67, 68.
2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 76, 235, 277.
3. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 19, 26, 67, 68, 71, 99, 200, 235-36.

was taken against the zamindars by the faujdar¹ of Ajmer.

8. The thefts were committed even in the military camp lying outside the city. Once Anup Singh, grandson of Rao Amar Singh of Nagore conferred his guilt before Iftekhhar Khan, the governor of Ajmer, but he pleaded that as his men were on the verge of starvation they committed the² crime.

9. A thief fell down in Ana Sagar while trying to escape from the clutches of the watchmen. But he was caught alive and his head was chopped. The gory head of the thief was fastened to a³ tree in the city for display to the public.

10. The thieves stole away cows from outside the city, but Prithi Singh and Raj Singh captured them and produced^{them} before Muhammad Khalil, the deputy faujdar of Ajmer, who ordered the⁴ culprits to be imprisoned.

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 46, 47, 61, 169.¹⁹⁻²⁰

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 120.

3. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 128.

4. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 99.

Thus, the subedar of Ajmer endeavoured with the help of police officers to maintain law and order in the city and uphold imperial authority. Tahawwar Khan alias Padshah Quli Khan suppressed the tribes of Chitta and Mina which indulged in highway robbery and plunder of ¹ villages. The highway robberies and plunder by the local people during the course of Rathore rebellion had become so common that the Subedar Tahawwar Khan had to appoint Qutubuddin, son of Nahar Dil, with fifty horsemen to patrol around his contingent in order to keep a vigilant watch on the robbers and disruptive elements. He later sent a force of fifty horsemen to support Qutubuddin, and issued urgent orders to the thanadars (police officers) to patrol the area throughout night and perform the duty of chaukidar or ² watchman. He also undertook extraordinary measures to ensure ³ the regular supply of food and fodder into the city of Ajmer. He wrote a detailed report of all his exertions and achievements and persuaded the local civil and judicial officers to sign it. Abdul Razzaq, the qazi of Ajmer, the bakhshi, and the Waga'-i Nawis of the Subeh, Mir Adal, and Sallada Nashin of Dargah put their signature on the petition ⁴ (Mahazar) and it was sent to the Emperor.

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 310.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 502-503.

3. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 590, 592-3, 604-5.

4. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 311.

Judicial Functions of the Subedar:

The subedar of Ajmer, like the subedars of other provinces, was vested with the judicial functions. He regularly held the court and administered justice in criminal, civil and revenue cases after proper investigation and consultation with the qazi and the mufti. He referred to the qazi some cases for investigation and others involving law of shari'at for decision. Aurangzeb had urged every subedar and fauidar to make efforts in trying and deciding cases in consonance with the established law and affording protection to the residents of towns, cities and villages. The Emperor asserted in the farman addressed to Sardar Khan, fauidar of sarkar Surath, that the main purpose of justice was to provide peace and security to the ra'iyyat and the commonfolk. "We in person, dispense justice to the oppressed and afflicted for the establishment of the principles of justice and equity and for the destruction of the very foundations of tyranny and oppression."¹ In pursuance of this imperial policy the subedars and fauidars paid special attention to the administration of justice and protection of the weak. A few cases decided by the fauidar of Ajmer are given below by way of illustration.

1. Mirat-i Ahmadi, I, p. 257.

1. One Anandi, a labourer, went to village Korah to purchase some wine, and took Gangaram, a textile printer, with him promising to pay money for the day he would spend in his company. When Ganga Ram asked him for the payment of his wages, Anandi killed him. Anandi was captured by the relatives of the deceased and presented before Pad shah Quli Khan. The governor handed over the murder to the relatives of the deceased. But they let him off, and the governor ordered his imprisonment so as to set an example for others.¹
2. Tikon, an inhabitant of Mauza Didwana lodged a complaint in the court of Padshah Quli Khan that Saleh Beg, an ahdi, had imprisoned his son. Saleh Beg argued that he had purchased that boy for Rs.30/- and made him ^aMuslim. The governor held that as the boy was ^aminor his conversion was unlawful and ordered that the boy should be set free and handed over to his father. The plaintiff paid ~~the~~ ²ten rupees to Saleh Beg and took the son.
3. The governor was not authorised to award the death penalty. He was required to refer such cases to the imperial court. But in one particular case which

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 607-8.
2. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, p. 573.

was of political nature Padshah Quli Khan ordered the accused to be trampled under the feet of ^{an} elephant. The accused was a Rajput who had concealed himself in the skirt of ^{the} tent with the intention to kill Raja Maha Singh Bhadoria. But he could not find an opportunity to achieve his aim and ran away early in the morning. He was seen and captured, but he killed four persons who attempted to seize him.¹

The Governor's Relation with the Central Government:

The Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer throws considerable light on the relationship between the governor of Ajmer and the central government. The governors were loyal and obedient to the Emperor and his ministers at the court and they never defied the orders issued by the central authorities. Iftekhar Khan was ordered, after the death of Jaswant Singh, to proceed to Jodhpur and assist the central officers in their work of annexing Marwar to the crown territory and establishing imperial authority there.² The governor received the

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, p. 408. According to the penal code contained in the farman of Aurangzeb addressed to the diwan of Gujarat, June, 1672, the governor was instructed, "when murder has been proved against any man according to the Holy Law or is close to certainty, keep the offender in prison and report the facts to the Emperor." Mirat-i Ahmadī, I, pp. 278-283; Mughal Administration, p. 114.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 72, 73, 80, 81, 117, 118.

the royal farman with deference and in a ceremonial way. The waga'i informs that Iftekhar Khan rewarded the mace-bearer who had brought the farman two hundred rupees and Padshah Quli also gave the same amount to the mace-bearer, Fateh Beg.¹ It was also his duty to collect revenues from the mahals of lagirdars serving outside the province and remit the money to them. Sazawals came to Iftekhar Khan demanding the payment of money due to lagirdars who were serving in the Deccan.² The governor held inquiries in cases referred to him by the imperial court and despatched detailed reports to it. The Waga'i has recorded the case of Kesri and Jivraj versus Shyam Ram Brahman in which Iftekhar Khan made inquiries. Shyam Ram had complained that six years ago he paid Rs. 2,300 in advance to Kesri and Jivraj for the purchase of 8,000 maunds of grain, but he could receive³ neither any quantity of grain nor the money back.

Iftekhar Khan received royal orders, contained in a Hasb-ul-hukum under the signature of the wazir, to the effect that he should direct Saiyid Muhammad, Saiyada Nashin of the Dargah, to present himself before the imperial court

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 74,553.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, p. 22.

3. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 22,23. Mughal Government and Administration, p. 213.

and explained his position in the case filed against him by his brother. The governor sent the copy of the Hasb-ul-hukum to the Sajjada Nashin urging him to proceed to the court without delay, but the latter pleaded that he would start from Ajmer after the urs ceremony was over. It had been alleged that Saiyid Muhammad had failed to satisfy the claims of his brother on the property left by their father.¹ By another Hasb-ul-hukum Iftekhhar Khan was asked to settle the dispute between Raja Manohardas, jagirdar of Manoharpur and his nephew Rukaman.² Iftekhhar Khan requested the Mir Bakhshi to get the transfer order of six mansabdars serving in the province of Ajmer cancelled. His request was conceded and the mansabdars were not sent to Deccan.³ The qazi-ul-quzzat (chief justice) asked Iftekhhar Khan to hold inquiries into the complaints lodged by Ganga Ram against Muhammad 'Alam, ^{5/6 No. A. 11} Amin of pargana Didwana, and decided the case in the light of his investigations. Ganga Ram had complained that Muhammad Alam killed his son-in-law Bhaqwan and forcibly seized his wife after preventing her from performing the sati. Iftekhhar Khan made thorough inquiries in the case. The wife of the deceased was summoned along ^{with} the

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1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 14-15.
 2. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, p. 37.
 3. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 21, 70. The names of the mansabdars are noted below:
 - (1) Pirthivi Singh, 150 zat, (2) Sardole, 150 zat,
 - (3) Rath Singh, 40 zat, (4) Ghani Ram, 80 zat,
 - (5) Harkaran, 100 zat and (6) Jagat Ram, 80 zat.

accused and other witnesses from both sides, and it was discovered that the charges levelled against the ¹Amin were baseless.

The Governor's Relations with other Officers of the Province:

Though the hold of the central government over provincial administration was absolute, the governor exercised discretionary powers and effective control over the apparatus of local government. The local officers, though appointed and removed by the central government, worked under the supervision of the governor; none of whom could afford to flout his authority or thwart the execution of his policy. The officers worked under his direct supervision when a state of emergency prevailed in the city or the province. The governor also enjoyed the privilege of local patronage. It was on his recommendations that the Emperor appointed faujdars, thanadars, transferred the mansabdars and increased the ranks of and conferred titles on officers subordinate to him. The Diwan of the Subah, appointed directly by the Emperor on the recommendation of the wazir, was vested with authority over the revenue department, and

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 13, 17, 24.

in this sphere he functioned independent of the governor. But even he was instructed to discharge his duties in collaboration with the governor. All the provincial officers appointed by the centre had to pay their respects to the governor before proceeding to take charge of their respective offices in the Subah of Ajmer. For instance, when the Waga'-i Nawis of Ranthambore was transferred to Ajmer and made Waga-i Nawis-Bakhshi of the whole province, he first paid a visit to the faujdar, Iftekhhar Khan, and, discussed with him the problems of his office. Sharf-ud-din Husain¹ was appointed Amin Paibagi and Karori of Ranthambore, and he, before going to that place, came to Ajmer and met Iftekhhar Khan. Razi-ud-din, who replaced Mir Inayatullah, as Darogha-i Dakchowki, came to see the governor at Ajmer, and so came Abdul Wahid Khan to pay visit to him before going to Sherpore to assume the charge of Faujdari. Similarly Mohammad Baqar when appointed as Darogha-i Khazana with a rank of 100 zat² paid visit to the governor of the Subah.

The Waga'-i Nawis-Bakhshi submitted copies of reports, sent by his agents from different parts of the province to the governor who formulated his policies and measures of administration on this basis of information

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 11, 19.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 11, 35; 38-39.

contained in them, Iftekhar Khan, the governor, kept in *tuch* with the Bakhshi and frequently consulted him on administrative problems. This mutual cooperation operated as a check on the rash and hasty action of the governor. The governor sought information from the Bakhshi about the activities of the rebels and the zamindars. As the Bakhshi was answerable to the Emperor he could refuse to act on the advice of the governor especially in matters which, in his opinion, required direct instructions from the court. When Iftekhar Khan asked the Bakhshi to help him in employing 1,000 horsemen and 1,000 artillery men according to the royal farman, the latter expressed his inability on the ground that he had received no orders from the centre with regard to this work. The governor conveyed his reply to the court which sent to him a Hasb-ul hukum under the signature of the Mir Bakhshi directing him to assist the governor in¹ the official business.

Functions of the Governor in the Land Revenue Administration:

It was one of the foremost duties of the governor of Ajmer to collect tribute from the feudal lords, help the civil officers in their work of revenue realisation and ensure the safe dispatch of the treasurer¹ to the imperial

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 95,96,102-3, 105, 136.

court. The vassal chiefs and the zamindars did not pay tribute and land revenue without being forced by the display of military force or actual military campaigns. The governor himself undertook tours for revenue collection in the province and supplied troops to the aid of faujdar, amin and karori whenever any one of them was found in a difficult situation created by the refractory zamindars. Iftekhar Khan, the governor of Subah Ajmer, marched at the head of ~~th~~ an army to Gujar, the village of Amarsar pargana, to collect revenue. He was able to realise a sum of Rs. 25,000/- within a short time, and stayed for some time more to collect the arrears amounting to Rs. 12,000/-¹. He launched military operations against the refractory zamindars and rebellious jagirdars. Muhammad Baqdar, Darogha-i Khazana, informed Iftekhar Khan that Islam Muhammad Karori did not deposit the amount collected from the peasants in the government treasury. It was alleged that he had spent Rs. 10,385/- out of the money collected from the peasants. Taj Muhammad, Karori ~~of Katal~~, informed Iftekhar Khan that in the parganas of Amarsar, Yawasa and Kasali, most of the land was included in paibagi and complained that the zamindars did not pay the revenues. The governor took prompt action in every case and improved the efficiency of revenue administration.

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 22-23.

Padshah Quli Khan ordered Ram Singh Kachwahha, a mansabdar of 40 zat/ and thanedar of Kohkra, a place three kos from the city of Ajmer, to proceed to pargana Chattsu and make the settlement of land revenue with the zamindars of the area. The mansabdar complied with the orders of the governor and made settlement of land revenue and helped the local officers in its realisation. Further, Padshah Quli Khan directed Rehmullah, son of Shah Baig Khan, and others to go to the pargana of Chattsu, and Latif Beg to proceed towards Amarsar for settlement and realisation of the land revenue. The agent of Waga'-i Nawis and the gazi of Mairta reported to the governor that Sa'adullah, the faujdar-amin-karori, had embezzled a huge amount of public money, that he was most dishonest and corrupt officer and that he had not deposited the revenues collected from the zamindars and peasants of the area. At the time of Raj Singh's invasion of Mairta there was a sum of Rs. 40,000/- in the treasury kept in the fort, but Sa'adullah Khan managed to seize it and transfer it to his family members. He sent Rs. 20,000/- to his son at Shah Jahanabad and Rs. 15,000/- to his nephew at Anper, and the remaining amount ¹ he kept for his own use. After the invasion of Raj Singh he informed the governor that the whole treasure in the fort of Mairta had been plundered and carried away by the rebels. However,

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 168.

2. Amarsar and some other villages in pargana Chattsu were generally held as jagir by the governor of the Subah. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 195-196; 401.

the governor could not take any effective action against this corrupt officer because there was no evidence to prove the charges against him.¹

Governor's Relations with Zamindars and Jagirdars:

The governors generally followed a policy of ~~concord~~ and conciliation in dealing with the hereditary chiefs and zamindars of the Subah of Ajmer. The chiefs and zamindars, on their part, displayed a spirit of cordiality and friendship in their relations with the Mughal governors and officials. They paid annual tribute to the governor, furnished the fixed quota of contingents for imperial service and maintained imperial rules and regulations within the limits of their territorial jurisdictions. They kept their agents at the court of the governor and sought to gain his favour by sending gifts and messages of friendship through them to him. Maharaja Jaswant Singh had his agent at the court of Iftexhar Khan, and Raja Inder Singh transmitted the information of his succession to the gaddi of Jodhpur through his agent posted at Ajmer.² During the Pushkar fair the Prohit of Rana Raj Singh of Mewar came to Ajmer and brought presents for the governor. The Prohit, a ^{priest} ~~saint~~, did not pay visit to the governor, but sent the articles through

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 317-20, 232, 236.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 22, 23, 242.

servants of the Rana. However, small zamindars of the ^{used to} Subah come in person to see the governor and give presents when they visited Ajmer during the Pushkar fair.¹ Once Raj Singh, the Rana of Udaipur, sent costly presents along with a friendly letter to Padshah Quli Khan.² Maharaja Jaswant Singh despatched a force of 100 horsemen and 150 footmen to the aid of Iftekhar Khan who was engaged in the suppression of disturbances in the province.³ But Raja Ram Singh refused to provide military reinforcement when asked by Iftekhar Khan because the Shikhawat clan against which it was to be used was in alliance with the Raja.⁴

The small zamindars were generally haughty and defiant, always with holding payment of revenues, resisting government officers and creating disturbances. They raided and plundered villages and towns and committed highway robbery. They fought among themselves on agrarian issues and sometimes on petty personal differences. The Mughal faujdar had to devote much of his time and energy in dealing with these refractory elements. He undertook punitive

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1. Waga'-1 Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 50-51.
 2. Waga'-1 Sarkar Ajmer, p. 294.
 3. Waga'-1 Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 51, 61, 69.
 4. Waga'-1 Sarkar Ajmer, p. 61.

expeditions to chastise rebels and restore law and order in the disturbed areas. During the Rathor Rebellion the incidence of disturbances and revolts intensified, resulting in dislocation in normal administrative business and widespread lawlessness in villages and towns of the Subah of Ajmer.

The diary of the news-writer is full of minute details regarding the predatory activities of the zamindars and dis-orders in the Subah. For instance, Fateh Singh Naro, zamindar of Kakora village, forcibly seized the land revenues collected from the peasants¹. The merchants and bankers reported to Tahawwar Khan that zamindars with their armed supporters had raided and plundered the town of Behronda. The faujdar promised to despatch an expedition to chastise the invaders.² The amir of Pachagi ^{Amin of Pachagi} ~~amir~~ ^{Qaim Muhammed} informed the royal court that Debidas, a zamindar of the area, had not deposited the revenue. The amir ^{Amin} ~~amir~~ of Pachagi submitted a petition to the royal court that Debidas, a zamindar of the area had not deposited the revenues collected from the peasants, and that he had committed theft and robbery. Tahawwar Khan, the faujdar, was directed by the Emperor to

1. Waqat-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 48, 49.

2. Waqat-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 173-174.

take stern action against the culprit. The army sent by the faujdar succeeded in capturing the zamindar but the faujdar pardoned him on the solemn promise of paying the ¹ arrears and abandoning his predatory activities. Talok Singh, son of Subhan Singh Sisodia of pargana Khandar in sarkar Ranthambore not only refused to pay the arrears but killed eight soldiers in an armed clash with Muhammad Zaman, the karori, and escaped unpunished. Later in a family feud several persons were killed. The government annexed the jagir of this outlaw to khalisa.² Anand Chand Shekhawat of Manoharpur was accused of murdering four persons in a family feud. The investigations proved that the accused had committed the crime in self-defence, and he had cooperated with the government authorities in the work of investigation. Anand Chand met the governor and professed his loyalty to the government, and expressed his desire to serve in the imperial army in the Deccan. Iftekhhar Khan, therefore, requested the Bakhshi-ul Mumalik to pardon the guilty and restore his mansab. His recommendation was accepted by the Mir Bakhshi, and Anand Chand came to meet the governor again with a force of 200 horsemen. He honoured the mansabdar and³ sent him to the Deccan to join the imperial army.

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. ⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰ 39¹-397.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, p. 40.

3. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 27-28, 32, 34, 36, 37, 45-47, 50, 69.

Moreover, the zamindars of the subah Ajmer subjected the peasants and helpless people to illegal exactions although the Emperor had abolished a large number of abwabs (illegal taxes) and issued^a warning to the officers against extortion and oppression. The faujdars of Ajmer punished these zamindars when he had some opportunity to do so, but on several occasions, particularly during the Rathor rebellion, he attempted to prevent them from oppressing the people by means of persuasion and conciliation.¹ The collection of rahdari (toll tax) was^a common practice which prevailed throughout the province. The Waga'-i Nawas has recorded many instances of the collection of this levy which prove the weakness of the government and helplessness of the people. The Waga'-i Nawas, himself witnessed the forcible collection of this illegal impost (rahdari) at a place near Malpore while he was on his way from Ranthambore to Ajmer. He immediately reported the matter to Abul Hasan, the local mutasaddi, who went to the spot and took strong action against the offenders.² The merchants and traders of Sambhar complained to Muhammad Arif, the amin, that some Rajput zamindars, like Sunder Singh and Gaj Singh Naroke imposed toll tax in Sawara, a village in pargana Mahzabad at the rate of one rupee

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 73-74.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, , p. 13.

per hundred cows and one tanka from one bullack-cart. The agents of the Waga'-i Nawis had often to go in the ^{part}₁ of beggars for the purpose of gathering information.

As a number of chiefs and zamindars went into open rebellion and ^{the} law and order situation deteriorated, the Mughal mansabdars and officers began to loose their hold on jagirs, and complaints of forcible seizure of lands by malefactors poured in the court of the fauidar, adding new responsibilities to his charge. The agents of jagirdars came from different parts of the subah to submit petitions in the court of the fauidar at Ajmer, requesting him to despatch military force to recover lands from the possession of rebellious zamindars. The fauidar launched military campaigns against the rebels and recaptured lands and handed ² *them* over to the agents of the jagirdars. The fauidar, at the same time, kept the mansabdars under discipline by forcing him to abide by the imperial rules and regulations. If any mansabdar failed to obey his commands the fauidar generally recommended to the Mir Bakhshi for his transfer. Kasi Singh Rathore, a mansabdar of 250/40, did not care to pay ^a visit to Iftekhar Khan on his arrival in Amarsar, nor did he come to

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 54, 321, 469.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 22, 37, 42, 57.

Ajmer to see the faujdar at Ajmer at the time of his assumption of office. Iftekhhar Khan sent few horsemen to bring the haughty mansabdar to his presence, but he flatly refused to obey the orders of a superior authority on the ground that he was preparing to proceed to the Deccan with Man Singh son of Raja Roop Singh. The Bakhshi of the subah advised him not to pursue the matter but let the mansabdar go away from the Subah otherwise he would create mischief.¹

Religious Functions of the Governor:

According to an established convention the Muslim governor of Ajmer performed his prayers on Friday in congregation in the Jama' Masjid of the city.² He also made arrangements for and himself participated in a special kind of prayer called istisfa which was usually held outside the city in the day to pray ² God for rains when the population felt the threat of draught owing to its failure.³ On the eve of Eid the governor honoured the khatib of the city and the other local Muslim divines and theologians with robes of honour, in his absence the deputy-governor or kotwal of the city discharged these religious and social functions. He was

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1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 84, 85.
 2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 14, 43.
 3. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 15-16.

empowered to exercise general supervision on the administration of the Dargah and protect the interests of its employees. He not only visited the shrine and made offerings but spent money on rituals performed there.¹ Once Padshah Quli gave money for the preparation and distribution of dalia (soup made of wheat, sugar and milk) which was cooked in a huge deg (cauldron) in the Dargah at night. During the Urs ceremony Iftekhar Khan attended the Mahfil-i Sama (audition) and supervised the arrangements for comfortable stay and security of pilgrims and visitors.²

The governor had no authority to intervene in the family dispute of the Saiyada Nashin of the Dargah on the issues of succession or inheritance, as such matters were referred to the Emperor for settlement. Saiyid Alauddin, the Saiyada Nashin of the Dargah, had visited the imperial court and received rewards and honours from the Emperor, Shahjahan. After his death his son Saiyid Muhammad succeeded his father's position in the Dargah, but his brother Saiyid Fazlullah submitted a petition in the court for an equal distribution of his father's properties. Iftekhar Khan was asked by the Hasb-ul Hukum issued under the signature of the Wazir to send Saiyid Muhammad to the court to explain his position in

1. Waqat-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 291-292; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 433.

2. Waqat-i Sarkar Aimer, p. 20.

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the presence of the Emperor. But he effectively exercised his authority and influence in the conduct of the Dargah administration. When the holders of the daily subsistence allowance (Yomia-daran) complained to the governor that they had not received the allowance for the last six months he made a thorough inquiry into the matter, and tried to redress the grievances of these poor servants of the Dargah. The Sajjada Nashin and Mutawwal of the Dargah argued that as the number of claimants had increased and the income from lands assigned under this head declined, it was not possible for them to pay the allowance regularly and satisfy every one. The Waga'-i Nawis reported the matter to the court and settlement of the problem was deferred till the receipt of the royal orders in this respect.

2

The governor also made adequate arrangements for pilgrims on the occasion of Pushkar Fair in the city of Ajmer. Iftekhar Khan himself visited the place and stayed there to supervise the arrangement made particularly for the day on which thousand of devotees came from far off places to take bath in the sacred lake of Pushkar.

3

But at the same time the governor had to carry out the imperial orders pertaining to temple destruction and realisation of the jaziyah.

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1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 14, 15, 24, 25.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 30-32.

3. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 15, 48, 49, 53.

4. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 11, 305.

governor and his officers attempted, whenever they found good¹ chance of success, to prevent a widow from performing sati.

Kotwal:

The kotwal, as the principal police officer, exercised jurisdiction over the thanas and patrolling police of the whole city and its suburbs. He was responsible for the maintenance of the internal security and peace of the city and implementation of government orders which related to its municipal administration. Arrest and imprisonment of criminals, control of market, maintenance of peace and order in streets and lanes of the city, supervision on arrangements of civic amenities, close watch on the activities of bad characters protection of the poor against the strong, and giving help to the gazi and muhafiz in the discharge of their duties were some of the important functions included in the range of his executive jurisdiction. The city was divided into wards (muhallas), and the chief of every ward (mir-i muhalla) was assigned with the task of dealing sternly with trouble-makers and supplying information about daily occurrences to the kotwal. The subordinate police officers operated in each and every part of the city and curbed violence and tensions arising there. The kotwal attended the court of the governor

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Almer, pp. 13, 17, 24.

and executed his orders in respect of sentences imposed on convicts. The administration of the prison was under his exclusive charge, and he was answerable for the condition and conduct of every prisoner to his superior authorities. He was appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Mir Atash (superintendent of artillery), and could be transferred or dismissed by him alone. Under his command there was a considerable contingent of cavalry and great number of footsoldiers who assisted him in the execution of imperial orders.¹

The kotwal of Ajmer, according to waga', was among the tabinan of Tahawwar Khan, the fauddar of the subah. Once ^{of Pur} N'aimat-ullah, the kotwal, came into clash with the artillery men who were reported to have oppressed the shopkeepers and traders of the city. The kotwal stoutly defended the cause of the merchants and protected them against the tyranny and injustice of the soldiers serving under the fauddar.² Again, on another occasion, the butchers and grain merchants complained against the atrocities of the muhtasib (*Censor of Public morals*) to the kotwal who assured them that necessary action would be

1. For a detailed description of his power and functions, Mirat-i Ahmadi, I, pp. 168-70 ; Storia-Do-Mager, II, p. 421; The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 211.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 309.

taken against the cruel officer. It appears that the kotwal of Ajmer was concerned with the welfare of the traders and merchants of the city and always tried to save them from the oppression of officers, soldiers and turbulent people.¹ When serious disputes arose between the kotwal and the muhtasib, it was the faujdar who generally intervened and settled the issues.² Muhammad Murad, the kotwal, requested Tahawwar Khan to supply him a force of forty horsemen required for the defence of the city, and the faujdar accepted his request, but at the same time asked the bakhshi to enroll one hundred horsemen more for that purpose.³ During the Rathor rebellion the kotwal extended full cooperation to the faujdar and diwan of the gubah and carried out all their instructions issued in connection with the defence of the city.⁴ The Waga'-i-Nawis has recorded a very interesting incident about the hunger strike started by 25 prisoners in the jail of Ajmer. The prisoners demanded one rupee daily allowance instead of the small quantity of food, one fourth of seer of flour, which was generally supplied in the jail. The faujdar, however, rejected this novel demand, and the prisoners in consequence,

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 345, 549-51.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 345.

3. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 431, 432.

4. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 309.

went on hunger strike. They did not take the food for more than 12 days¹ and the problem was referred to the royal court for a final decision.

S a d r :

The sadr occupied a distinguished position in the provincial administration of the Mughal Empire. As upholder of shar'iat, the sadr tried to enforce Islamic law in government and society and protect the interests of the Muslim religious class comprising theologians, learned scholars and preachers. He recommended to the sadr at the centre called sadr-us-sadur the cases of the ulema, scholars and needy people for the award of madad-i ma'ash grants and suitable stipends, and kept a close watch on the conduct and activities of all such grantees. In Ajmer the Mutawalli of the Dargah exercised the functions of sadarat as the bulk of madad-ma'ash lands at the pargana level ^{were attached to the shrine,} and sent regular reports about the condition of persons who held revenue-free grants or received cash allowances. He put his seal on the papers relating to all such grants. The provincial sadr was appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the sadr-us sadur and

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, 434.

the sanad of appointment bore his seal. He held a zat and a sawar rank, and an additional rank of 50 zat and 10 sawars on the condition of carrying out the duties of his office. The qazis, the muhtasib, the Imams, the Mutawallis of tombs and the Moazzins of mosques served under him and received their letters of appointment from him. He verified and confirmed the sanads relating to madad-i ma'ash, wazifa and rozinah.¹

According to the Waga'-i of Ajmer the persons appointed to this office were, by and large, scholars, pious and honest. For instance, Sa'ad-ullah, who was both Sadr and Mutawalli, treated the people kindly and looked after their welfare. By his generosity and kind treatment Saiyid Sa'ad-ullah won the goodwill of the people who remained satisfied with his conduct. He always recommended only deserving cases for award of grants and appointments to the imperial Sadr. Once the Sadr-us sadur asked him to recommend two persons to the posts of preachers, but he replied that he found none who was competent to perform the functions of preachers.²

1. For details of powers and functions of the Sadr and Mutawalli, Mirat-i Ahmadi, Supplement, p. 173; Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 170. Mughal Land-Revenue Administration, pp. 130-131; Waga'-i-Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 86, 425.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 86, 280, 281.

Q a z i :

The gazi-i subah was appointed by the Emperor and the sanad of appointment was issued under the signature of the Sadr-us sadur. He was not only the provincial gazi but also the gazi of the capital city of the province. Sometimes he was given charge of one or more parganas or towns. He held the office during the pleasure of the Emperor. At the time of appointment he received a mansab, and the grant of a daily allowance as well as revenue-free land by way of madad-i ma'ash. He decided civil and criminal cases, disposed of appeals referred to him by the governor and held inquiries¹ into cases for which he was ordered by the central government.

The Qazi of Ajmer held his court of justice in the Kucchery or in a hall adjacent to the building of a mosque; he was forbidden by law to hold the court at his residence. He also attended the court of the governor who transferred to him a number of cases every day either for making investigation² or passing judgment. However, the governor reserved his judgment in some cases which he referred to the Qazi for

1. For a detailed discussion of the powers and functions of the gazi-i subah, Mirat-i Ahmadi, Supplement, pp. 193, 199; Hidayat-ul Qawaid, ff. 20, 21; Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 353-354; Medieval India - A Miscellany, pp. 249-53.
2. Waqat-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 197, 190.

hearing and recording the statements of the parties and their witnesses. When Shaikh Suleman asked Iftekhar Khan to investigate and decide a civil suit the latter referred it the Qazi for taking necessary and prompt action in the matter. Kanwal Vijai Sewrah complained that Prbat Vijai and other five persons, disciples of Sacche Barthor, had borrowed from him a sum of Rs. 1,200/- a long time ago, but since then they neither contacted him nor paid the loan back. The governor sent a horseman accompanied by the plaintiff to bring Prbat Vijai to the court, and after his arrival he made over the case to the Qazi. But the plaintiff failed to prove the charge he had levelled against Prbat and others. The Qazi, then, asked the accused to take oath that he had borrowed no money from the plaintiff. When Prbat Vijai was ready to take the oath as required by the judge, the plaintiff also expressed his desire to do the same thing, but the Qazi did not allow him and dismissed the case on the ground of lack of evidence, and reported the whole proceedings to the governor. As the suit was false the governor also could not decide it and requested Shaykh Suleman to exercise his own¹ discretion and pass judgement.

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 23-24.

Nature of some civil and criminal suits
filed in the Court of the Qazi:

1. Lal Chand's widow filed a suit in the court of the Qazi for recovery of Rs.18,000/- from her son. Shaikh Abdul Qazzaq, the Qazi, persuaded both the mother and son to give up litigation and come to an agreement. As a result of his persuasion they settled the dispute and arrived at an agreement which has later duly attested in the court of the Qazi.¹
2. As the Deg in the shrine was being looted, one of the servants of the Mutawalli^{Arif} hit one Firoz by a stick, as a result of which he died. The matter was reported to the Qazi by the members of Firoz's community. The Mutawalli pleaded that the accused was with him in his Haveli at this time. The Qazi accepted this alibi and acquitted the servant of the charge. But the Waga-i-Nawis in his despatch reported that those present on the spot were of the opinion that the servant did hit Firoz by stick and as a result of which he died.²
3. The sons of Chittoo lodged a suit that their father had been beaten to death by Pir Muhammad and his two companions. The Qazi convicted Chittoo and pronounced death sentence against him. The sons were given the choice to ask either for the execution of the murderer

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 35.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 292.

or blood money from him. But they proposed that the culprit must be dismissed from service and driven out from the fort and the city, and never allowed to return. The Qazi issued the decree accordingly.¹

4. Noori charged Nathoo and Hari Krishen in the court of law that they had beaten her husband to death. But the two Muslim witnesses produced by the plaintiff were found wanting in the knowledge of Islam as well as in the performance of religious practices like five times prayers and fasting. As the evidence of such ignorant and unreligious persons could not be regarded reliable and authentic, the Qazi dismissed the suit. After sometime it was discovered that the man had died of some disease from which he was suffering since^a long time.²

5. A case was registered against *Sahla Chaud* in the court that he had abused the Prophet. The witness, when examined by the judge, failed to answer satisfactorily questions regarding the theoretical and practical aspects of Islam. The second witness stated that few years back he performed prayers, but at present he neither practised nor remembered them. The Qazi dismissed the case with the remark

1. Waqat-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 9.

2. Waqat-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 14, 18.

that what kind of Muslims they were who appeared to give¹ evidence to vindicate the honour of their Prophet.

6. In pargana Mertha a temple was demolished by the Mughal officers on receipt of orders from the central government. Qazi Muhammad Ikram issued instructions to the officers that the income from the sale of the material should be deposited in the bait-ul-mal, and one hundred bighas land and few shops attached to the temple should~~be~~ be confiscated. But the Hindu merchants resisted any attempt by the officers to seize either the material or land or shops on the plea that the whole property belonged to them. The dispute was² referred to the court.

The Qazi of Ajmer continued^{to} ~~the~~ hold office for a longer period than other officers of the subah like fauidar and bakhshi. For example Qazi Abdul Razzaq held office for³ more than eleven years. The Qazi had to pass an examination and obtain a certificate which alone qualified him for the appointment to the post. The examination was conducted by the Sadr-us-Sadur and the certificate bore his seal and that of ~~the~~ Qazi-ul-Quzzat. Muhammad Sadiq, though appointed Qazi of

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 416, 417.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 184.

3. Asnad-i Sanadid, pp. 243-247.

Nagore by the imperial orders, was not allowed to assume the charge of office by the faujdar because he had failed to produce the relevant certificate.¹ The Qazi affixed his seal on agreements, court judgements, qismatnamahs² and other documents relating to civil and financial matters. He announced the dates of the Muslim festivals on the basis of evidence given by reliable witnesses about the visibility of moon.³ Prior to the appointment of the Amin-i-jaziyah the Qazi carried out the responsibility of collecting the tax and depositing the money into the government treasury.⁴ He was empowered to confiscate the property of the thieves and robbers who were killed in an encounter with the police or citizens.⁵ The Muhatasib enforced the rules of shari'at but had no authority to order the arrest of those who violated them; this power belonged to the Qazi.⁶ A careful examination of evidence contained in the Wagah indicates that the faujdar of the subah of Ajmer had gradually obtained influence over the judiciary. However, the judges did their utmost to resist

1. Wagah-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 35, 36, 177.
2. Asnad-us Sanadidm pp. 243, 244, 250, 252.
3. Wagah-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 55, 56.
4. Wagah-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 508, 509.
5. Wagah-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 67.
6. Wagah-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 190, 38, 39.

their influence and encroachment on their powers and position¹ for most of the judges were upright, pious and learned persons.

Muhtasib :

The muhtasib or the Censor of Public Morals was appointed in every city and town in the Empire to enforce the laws of shari'at, put down the practices and acts forbidden by the religion of Islam, curb heretical ideas and opinions, punish blasphemy against the Prophet, regulate the lives of the Muslims in accordance with the rules of Islamic religion and prevent drinking of liquor, bhang, liquid intoxicants, gambling and sexual immorality. In some places it was also his duty to fix the prices of goods and enforce the use of correct weights and measures in the markets. With a party of the armed soldiers the Muhtasib patrolled the streets and demolished and plundered wine-shops, distilleries and gambling-dens wherever he found them. It was also his duty to instruct Muslims to learn and observe the rules and laws of their faith; performing five daily prayers and keeping fast in the month of Ramzan^{which} were obligatory ² ~~on~~ them.

1. Wada'-i Sarkar Almer PP 35, 178, 421

2. For a detailed discussion of his powers and functions, Mughal Administration, pp. 25, 26; Mirat-i Ahmadi, Vol I PP 249-53 Supplement,

Muhammad Fazil, the Muhtasib in the pargana adjacent¹ to the city of Ajmer, received Rs. 45/- per month as his salary. Muhammad Baqar, the Muhtasib of Jodhpur, held the rank of 80 zat/; but when he came to the city to assume charge of office he had with him 40 ahadis soldiers who were arrowmen, and² other mansabdars, one of whom Mir Gul held the rank of 50 zat/.

It appears that Muhtasib was not appointed in the cities and town of vassal estates of Rajput chiefs in the Subah of Ajmer. In Amber and Jaisalmer and Jodhpur before its annexation no Muhtasib was ever appointed, though in these and such other places a considerable number of Muslims lived. The agent of Waqa' Nawis posted at Nagore reported that after the death of a Muhtasib a few years back no new appointment had been made, and the city was without a Qazi or Muhtasib. Nagore was, he further added, an ancient city having a large Muslim population and sufficient number of saints, ulema and scholars. The agent, therefore, recommended for the appointment of a Muhtasib who could not only look after the management of mosques but also regulate the lives of Muslims in accordance with the rules laid down by the shar'at. According^{ly}, Hafiz Muhammad Muqem was appointed Muhtasib and Mitawalli of mosques in Nagore. This new officer

1. Waqa'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 20.

2. Waqa'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 183.

later on informed the Bakhshi about the deplorable condition of mosques in the city. The mosques in the city lay in ruins, neglected and unprotected, while the temples were in splendid condition, well-managed and well-provided. The Muslims did not spend money to meet the financial requirements of their mosques, but the Hindu Mahajans lavishly spent money on the temples and regularly paid the salaries of servants and priests.¹

The Muhtasib regularly sent reports of events and proceedings concerning his office to the Waga'-i Nawis who transmitted them to the Qazi and Nazim for necessary action. Muhammad Fazil, the Muhtasib of pargana Rajnagar, five kos from Ajmer, informed the Waga'-i Nawis that wine and other intoxicants were openly sold in the villages of the pargana and people were indulging in anti-social activities without the fear of punishment. The Waga-i Nawis asked the agent of Raj Singh, zamindar of the pargana to stop the evil practices, and threatened that if no efforts were made in this direction he would report the matter to the Central government.² 'Ubed-ullah, the Muhtasib and Mutawalli of sarkar Ranthambore, informed the Bakhshi-waga'-i Nawis of the Subah that the

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 45, 215-16, 183.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 20.

Rajputs were indulging in practices forbidden by Holy Law and violating the sanctity of the mosques. Even the kotwal, a Rajput by caste, publicly acted against the commands of shari'at; he usually drank wine on the Chabutra of his office. A sweet merchant of Sonipur, a village in the jagir of Raja Manohardas, had opened a shop in one of the rooms of a mosque, while Prap Kayasth had forcibly seized a room of another mosque and included it into his own house. The Rajputs prevented the Muslims from performing the five times prayers and observing their other religious rites. At the end of his report the Muhtasib added that he had already apprised both the Qazi and Waga'-1 Nawas of Ranthambore of these developments but they found themselves unable to punish the mis-
^a
¹
 crents.

The episode of Muhammad Baqar, recorded in the Waga', deserves a detailed description here, as it throws new light on powers and functions of the Muhtasib and his relations with the superior authorities of the Subah, like the Bakhshi and the Faujdar. Muhammad Baqar served as Muhtasib of Jodhpur and the parganas of haveli Ajmer excluding the proper city. He was harsh and rigid in his dealings with the

1. Waga'-1 Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 239-40.

public, and haughty and defiant in his attitude towards his superior authorities. He harassed the shopkeepers of the city of Jodhpur to such an extent that they in protest closed their shops and observed two days strike. ^dAbur Rahim, kotwal of the city, and Tahir Khan, the Faujdar, consoled the merchants and persuaded them to open the shops, giving an assurance of strong action against the high handedness of the Muhtasib. A woman complained that her husband had been arrested under instructions of the Muhtasib without any cause and pleaded for his release. The kotwal and faujdar of Ajmer tried their best to secure the release of the prisoner but Muhammad Baqar refused to obey their commands. The Bakhshi challenged his legal position in the administrative matters of the city of Ajmer which was outside his jurisdiction, He had no authority, according to the sanad of his appointment, to imprison the criminals or exercise jurisdiction over the city of Ajmer. But the Muhtasib continued to direct and control all matters and acts which in any way related to his office, and the governor of Bakhshi failed to stop him from performing his functions in the city of Ajmer. The real Muhtasib of the city, Muhammad Ashiq, remained helpless and powerless to assert his position. Muhammad Baqar also arrested and imprisoned some singers at the Dargah during the days of Urs, and in spite the efforts of the superior officer he refused to

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set them free.

Bakhshi-Waga'-i Nawis:

The Bakhshi Waga'-i Nawis was an important officer in the provincial government of the Mughal Empire, and in rank and authority stood below to the Diwan of the Subah. He was not directly concerned with the city administration; the range of his official functions relating to army establishment and news agency covered the entire province including its capital city. However, the Bakhshi of Ajmer was associated with some business of local administration, and this additional responsibility enhanced his status and importance in the administrative set-up of the city. Moreover, the Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer contains some new information in regard of the powers and functions of the Bakhshi, scarcely available in other contemporary sources. Therefore, an attempt has been made to give a brief account of the powers and duties of the Bakhshi of Ajmer.

The post of Bakhshi and Waga'i Nawis were entrusted to one and the same person. The appointment letter was issued under the seal of the Mir Bakhshi who recommended his promotion and transfer, and under whose direct control he performed

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 189, 199, 223, 224, 297, 298, 304.

his duties. As head of military establishment in the province he was charged with the responsibility of recruiting soldiers mustering of horsemen serving under mansabdars, payment of salaries to soldiers and enforcing the rules of branding. In his capacity as Waga'-i Nawis he gathered information of all kinds through his agents from all quarters and sent a constant stream of communication to the royal court. He generally posted his assistants in the departments of the Nazim, Diwan, Faujdar and Qazi; they despatched reports about the daily proceedings and occurrences to him. The Central government exercised absolute and effective control over the department of the provincial Bakhshi.¹

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1. According to Mirat-i Ahmadi at least four Bakhshis were appointed in every province. But there are instances recorded in Waga'-i Aimer which show that Bakhshis were appointed in the parganas also. There was Bakhshi attached to every field army in the province or town. Besides this chief officer, there was a secret reporter called Sawneh Nigar posted at few places, and charged with the responsibility of secretly sending news direct to the Emperor, ^{his} army administration which was indensible duty of the Bakhshi was outside the scope of his jurisdiction. The author of Mirat-i Ahmadi writes, "In former reigns Waga'-i Nawis were employed; but owing to the suspicion of their entering into collusion (with the local officers) Sawneh Nigar, who are also called khufia Navises-- were appointed to reside secretly in the subahs and report the news. ^{At last} when the latter was entrusted with the duty of supervising the postal arrangements within the province, the matter became public." For a detailed discussion of the powers and functions of the Bakhshi-Waga'-i Nawis and Sawneh Nigar, Mirat-i Ahmadi, Supplement, pp. 174, 175; Mirat-i Ahmadi, I, p. 266; Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 527, 497, 671; The Provincial Government of the Mughals, pp. 170-203.

The Bakhshi of Ajmer held the rank of ten sawars, and as Superintendent of Building he obtained an additional rank of five sawars; and when he proceeded to serve in the army of Padshah Quli Khan, eight horsemen and eight footmen mainly musketeers and archers, were further added to his hand. The tenure of office did not extend more than two or three years, and his term was not ^cont~~er~~minous with the Faujdar. When he arrived in Ajmer to take charge of office he first paid a visit to the governor, and then he occupied his residence provided by the government. According to instructions received from the centre the Bakhshi arranged every six month for the branding of horses of the mansabdars who had jagirs (salary-assignment), and every three months¹ for the mansabdars who received their salaries in cash. The Bakhshi reported to the imperial court that the mansabdars did not respond to the call to muster and preferred to stay back at their homes. The Mir Bakhshi at the centre received reports that a number of mansabdars posted at different army headquarters in the Empire were comfortably living in villages assigned to them in jagir (salary assignment) in the Subah of Ajmer, and were not willing to go out for active service in the armies now engaged in warfare with the enemy. The Bakhshi

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 513, 514, 639, 641, 474, 671, 11.

of the Subeh was accordingly directed to discover all these indolent mansabdars and urge them to join their respective contingents. During the Rathore Rebellion the Bakhshi had orders to strictly enforce the rules of branding and compell the mansabdars to report at muster. The Bakhshi kept a complete record of the mansabdars and soldiers-- horsemen and footmen-- posted at Ajmer. When the Bakhshi was transferred from Ranthambore to Ajmer he was given a time of fifteen days to complete the record before he handed over¹ charge to his successor.

Besides these functions the Bakhshi of Ajmer had also the charge of the government buildings in the city. He had to keep and maintain the buildings in a good and proper condition. On the occasion of the Emperor's visit to the city these buildings were plastered and whitewashed under his supervision. For this additional responsibility he received² special letter of appointment from the centre. He appointed his own deputy designated as Naib Darogha-i Amarat (deputy superintendent of buildings) who looked after the business of repair and construction of royal palaces, fort³ and other buildings. The construction on Roop Nagar Dam to check flood waters could not be completed and every year the

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 226, 227, 230, 237, 497-98, 490, 538.

river overflowed by heavy rains destroyed the embankment causing havoc to the adjoining areas, although a period of six years had passed over and a considerable amount of money had been spent. Previously the responsibility of constructing the dam rested with the amins, appointed specially for this specific job, but all the amins were, by and large, careless and corrupt. Now the Diwan of the Subah, ^{Noorem} ~~Muhammed~~ Ali, entrusted this important task to the Bakhshi and secured imperial sanad of appointment for him. As sanctioned by the central Diwan ^{Muhammed Ali Noorem} (wazir) ~~Muhammed~~ Ali gave a sum of Rs. 2,620/- to the Bakhshi to complete the construction of the Roopnagar Dam. He was also assigned the duty of preparing a large wheel to drain water from the Jhalra tank into the shrine ¹ during the period of summer.

The Waga'-i Nawis of Ajmer received several reports regarding the corrupt-practices of Abul Qasim, amin of khalisa-mahals, and Muhammad Aslam, the Karori. It was complained that both these officers had made changes in the revenue documents and enhanced the rent. The vast sums of money, collected through fraudulent means, were not deposited in royal treasury, but, on the other hand, given on interest

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 97, 208, 209, 294, 295, 373.

to the bankers. This whole unlawful transaction was made in collusion with the fotadar (treasurer). Iftekhhar Khan instructed the karori to hand over the revenue papers to Muhammad Baqar, darogha-i khazana, within 15 days and pay the accumulated amount of money he had collected from the cultivators to the treasurer (fotadar). But Muhammad Baqar, who had made complaints against these officers, himself indulged in corrupt and fraudulent practices when transferred to Ranthambore sarkar as its amin-paibagi. As he was on friendly terms with the diwan of subah no action was taken against him. Rehman Quli, amin-karori of pargana Bowal and mansabdar of 60/- reported to the diwan of the Subah that the land revenue of the pargana was not collected in the previous year and the arrears rose to a high figure of 28¹ lakhs of dam.

The Dargah Administration:

The dargah or shrine of Khwaja Saheb has had occupied a central position in the socio-religious set-up of the Muslim community in Ajmer. All their religious and social activities centred round the dargah which ever remained a great source of their inspiration and moral strength. The

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 27, 28, 32, 38, 44, 246, 247, 218, 508, 510, 514, 535.

Mughal Emperors progressively extended their administrative control over the organization and functions of the dargah by means of financial support for its maintenance and the subsistence of khadims ^{or} ~~and~~ mujaawirs engaged in the actual performance of religious rites. A brief study of the extent of state control and the nature of relationship between the Emperors and religious authorities of the dargah will be necessary to assess the significance of the inner working of this important institution of the Muslims of India during the period under review.

The first Muslim ruler, who after recovering Ajmer from the Rajputs in 1456 constructed a few buildings in the shrine, bestowed land grants and took personal interest in the management of its affairs was Sultan Mahmood of Mandu. He appointed Shaikh Bayazid, who claimed direct descent from Shaikh Mu'in-ud-din Chishti, as Sajjadah¹ Nashin or successor of the saint. The next important Emperor

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1. Although his appointment was made on the basis of the testimony of a couple of Ulema and divines, residing at that time in Ajmer. The need for their testimony arose, as the claim of Shaikh Bayazid to the descent of Shaikh Muin-ud-Din Chishti was questioned and stoutly opposed by an important section of those attached to the shrine since the time of its inception. The evidence of a few unknown ulema and divines seems to be of questionable validity in the presence of a wellknown great grandson of Khwajah Muin-ud-Din Chishti, viz. Chisht Khan who was himself a noble in the court of Sultan Mahmud of Mandu. Shaikh Abdul Haque, Akhbar-ul Akhiyar, pp. 130-131.

who devoted personal attention to the improvement of the condition of the dargah was Akbar, a devotee of the saint. A perusal of his farmans of land grants to the functionaries of the shrine show that some of the grants made prior to his accession had been renewed. He bestowed madad-i ma'ash grants on the khadims¹, constructed a few buildings and settled disputes of succession.² He appointed Sajjada Nashin and Mutawwali, and himself presided the Mahafil-i Sama (devotional music) whenever he had the chance to come and stay in Ajmer. The musicians were permanently employed in

1. In sufi terminology a disciple (very close to the Murshid and looks after his personal well being is known as khadim. The well known example is that of Maulana Badr-ud-Din Ishaq the khadim, khalifa and son-in-law of Shaikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i Shakar. The khadims of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Chishti claim to be the descendants of Khwaja Fakhr-ud-Din the Biradar-i Tariqat, khadim and khalifa of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Chishti. Right from the time of establishment of the Dargah they are the most important religious functionaries of this institution. Sivar-ul-Auliya, pp. 199/202, Sivar-ul-Arifin, pp. 8. Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 19

2. When Shaikh Husain claimed to be a descendant of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Chishti, Akbar in (1558-1580), the period in which he was intensely attached and devoted to the shrine, ordered an enquiry into Shaikh Husain's claim. The verdict of this enquiry in the words of Abul Fazl was, "The Pretender's claim proved to be baseless." As a result of this verdict Shaikh Husain was imprisoned at Bhakkar for two decades. Akbar in (1581-1605) the period when he had proclaimed Din-i Ilahi appointed Shaikh Husain as custodian of the shrine on the recommendation of his mother. Although Akbar while sending Shaikh Husain to Ajmer told his mother that he will misguide

the dargah and paid out of its funds. The pomp and etiquette of the Mughal court were adopted by the Sajjada Nashin now called Diwan at the time of presiding the gathering of Sams' (audition) during urs. Several mace-bearers dressed in the Mughal style accompanied him when he entered the hall and stood round him while he sat on the gaddi¹. The Mutawwali was generally appointed from among the khadims and it also became a hereditary office, maintained by the Mughal government. Both Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued these arrangements and increased the number of grants not only to the khadims but also to the musicians employed to recite the Qawwalis (devotional music) in the shrine on every thursday evening and during the days of the Urs. For instance, Shah Jahan had granted 300 bighas of land as madad-i ma'ash to Allah-Din and others, the qawwals of the shrine, and five sars² of grain as daily allowance during the Urs Celebrations.

people, ^{by} claim at Nazar and create problems there. Yet perhaps in view of getting leverage at this great seat of devotion and dedication, he conceded to the wishes of his mother. This policy, keeping some hold at the shrine, followed by his successors, and continued upto the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The descendants of Shaikh Husain who came to be known as the diwans and later started claiming to be Sajjada Nashins, also came very close to the Mughal Court. Contrary to the Chishti principles, they started visiting the Emperors and receiving robes of honour, inams and other grants in lieu of their services as the representatives of the State. *AKbar - Nama*: Vol. II pp 350-51

1. Asnad-us Sanadid, pp. 7,9; Waqat-i Sarkar Ameer, pp. 86, 280-1.
2. Asnad-us Sanadid, pp. 208-210, 109, 116.

Asnad-us Sanadid contains several copies of sanads and farmans of madad-i ma'ash grants issued during the reign of Aurangzeb to the khadims of the dargah. In this period grants were also made to the students studying in the madrasah attached to the shrine. On the report of Haji Ismail, the Waqai-i Nawis, 30 bighas of land was assigned to Shaikh Bayazid, son of Shaikh Fattu, an aged person having no means of income. In 1681 a plot of 30 bighas was assigned to Saiyid Ayub, an old man of 61 years, half of which was assigned to Muhammad Murad, a student. In 1682, 45 bighas of land was assigned as madad-i ma'ash to Saiyid Baqar,¹ Hayatullah, Ahmad and other students of the dargah madrasah. The Emperor settled the dispute of succession among the descendants of Saiyid Ala-ud-din, who was Sajjada Nashin in the reign of Shah Jahan. The Waqai-i Nawis of Ajmer informs that the khadims had lodged a complaint in the royal court against the Mutawwali of the dargah who had not paid to² them the fixed amount of the stipend for six months. When Aurangzeb first visited shrine after the battle of Deorai he himself offered Rs. 5000/- to the khadims. He also offered³ same amount to the khadims when he visited again in 1679.

1. Asnad-us Sanadid, pp. 229-244.

2. Waqai-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp, 14,24-25; 30/32.

3. Alamgir Namah, Vol. I, p. 335.
Alamgir Namah by Hatim Khan, pp. 72-73; Adab-i Alamgiri, p. 278.

Saiyid Muhammad, Sajjada Nashin also used to visit the royal court and received robes of honour (khilat) and money. During the stay of Aurangzeb in Ajmer, ~~and visited~~ Saiyid Muhammad had received Rs. 2,000 in cash and a robe of honour in the year 1075 H. He once received Rs. 500 from Jahan Ara Begam. Prince Akber, the son of Aurangzeb, had offered a sum of Rs. 3,000/- to the Sajjada¹ and khadims of the dargah.

Thus, the Sajjada Nashin, was closely associated with the royal court and entirely dependent on the patronage and support of the king, his family members, governors and other big nobles. His main function was to preside the Sama' Mahfils (gathering of devotional music) held in the dargah on every Thursday and during the Urs Celebrations. The Mutawalli, on the other hand, was directly appointed by the Emperor, and his main duty was to administer the grants, both land revenue and cash stipends, and distribute the money among the assignees. But the most important element in the administration of the dargah was the group of the khadims or mujawirs who in practice were the actual custodians and guardians of the shrine. The work of cleaning, washing, maintaining discipline, guiding the visitors,

1. Maqa'-i Sarkar Ajmer, p. 376, 446. Aurangzeb Nama, Vol. I
 PP 620, 964-65. Aurangzeb Nama of Mir Hatin Khan,
 PP 109, 142, 162

distribution of food, arrangements of music and looking after other activities were in their direct charge, and consequently they were the main recipients of Nazars (offerings) and rewards, made by all who visited the shrine. The huge wealth acquired through these means made the khadims the most affluent and influential section of the Muslim community in Ajmer.

CHAPTER - IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS IN THE CITY OF AJMER

The growing importance of the city of Ajmer as the seat of the provincial government, its mild climate and the ever-inspiring shrine of Khawajah Saheb had attracted a large number of Muslims to settle down within its walls. The Saiyids, who called themselves, the khadims of Khwaja Sahib and were instrumental to the construction and development of the shrine, formed the main section of the Muslim population. Besides them, Shaikh and Afghan families also lived in the city, but very few Mughals could choose this place for their permanent residence. Added to these elements were the local converts from the lower castes of the Hindus, and they were known as Inder Kotees, Qiam Khanis and Deswallis¹. These converts lived chiefly in the suburbs of the city and followed their old social customs and traditions. With the progress of time the Muslim population increased and gradually became an integral part of the society though it always remained a small minority mainly concentrated round the shrine.

The urban culture of Ajmer rested upon the pomp and pageantry of the governor's court, religious shrines, fairs and festivals, and diversified economic activities of the people. The city of Ajmer did not specialize in the

1. G.N. Sharma, Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, p.103.

manufacture of any major industrial goods, its whole business depended on the supply of such materials as were needed for the local consumption from different places of the Empire. An adequate supply of manufactured goods as well as foodstuffs successfully supported the economy of the city and kept its population contented and happy. To meet the ecclesiastical demands the local artisans produced wax, candles and perfumes, and the agriculturists laid out rose gardens as this particular flower was required in large quantity for offering in the shrines and temples of the place. The Hindu and Jain Mahajans, ¹Mawari Seths, goldsmiths, and cloth merchants had the monopoly of the entire business of the city, and they composed the most wealthy and influential class of the society. The Muslim jagirdars, owing to luxurious habits or failure of revenue collection, borrowed money on interest from these Hindu bankers and ²mēchants. The Banjaras brought grain from villages and towns of the subah to the market while the merchants imported luxury goods like silk, fine muslin, wares, articles of metalwork,

1. Waga'i Aimer, pp. 326, 33, 67, 68, 423.

2. For instance Dilawar Khan had mortgaged his elephant for Rs. 5,000 to a Mahajan of the city. ~~Mukhtar Khan~~ ^{Hukam} also in his financial distress had borrowed money on interest from the local bankers. Waga'-i Aimer, pp. 228, 577.

precious stones, timber and arms. The Muslims worked as maslons, stonecutters, water-carriers, and a group of butchers among them carried trade in cattle. The principal source of income for the upper class of the Muslim minority of the city was either the government service or the shrine of Khwaja Saheb. They served in the army, the judiciary and the civil departments, while the religious class associated with the shrine, mosques and madrasas depended for their livelihood on the madad-i ma'ash grants. The khadims of the shrine did not try to obtain government job as the income derived from the offerings at the tomb or the revenue free grants ensured¹ both economic security and social status.

Fairs and Festivals:

The Hindus of Ajmer celebrated their festivals with great enthusiasm and rejoicing. Besides the main festivals of Dasserah, Diwali and Holi, they also celebrated Vasant Panchmi and Ganesh Chauth Sankranti. The Mahajans, merchants and rich persons made vast contributions to the funds raised on such occasions for the expenditure of the festivities. During the days of Holi the Marwaris took out a dola (an open chair carried by servants on their shoulders)

1. Waga'-i Aimer, pp. 86, 425, 460-61; Asnad-us Sanadid, pp. 253, 255, 208, 210.

in which a hefty person dressed in the costumes of a typical Mughal aristocrat sat and they called him Padshah. They brought this dola in a procession to the main gate of the shrine of Khwaja Saheb where they indulged in the fun-making of Holi and sang songs in praise of the saint. They stayed there for at least two hours and returned in procession to the place from where they had started. The Pushkar fair held during Kartik at Pushkar lake, seven miles from the city, was the greatest fair in the whole of Rajputana. It attracted lakhs of people from far and near and gave new impetus to the religious and social activities in the city. The Mughal governor visited the place and supervised arrangements made for the comfortable stay of the pilgrims and performance of religious rites. He adopted all necessary measures for the maintenance of law and order at the place. The Waqa'-i Sarkar Ajmer informs that the government officers collected pilgrim tax from the visitors and also octroi levy from the traders and shopkeepers. The Rajput chiefs came to participate in the fair; some of them who could not attend in person sent their own ¹Prohitis with offerings and presents to the sacred place.

1. Waqa'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 15,40,41,48,53.

The Jats and Gujars of the city and its neighbouring villages like Bewar and Kishangarh celebrated the Tejaji Ka Mela in the honour of Tejahji, a warlord who possessed the power to undo the effects of the snake-bite and remove the poison from the body. Another important fair of Gangurs was celebrated in honour of Gauri, the wife of Lord Shiva, and in this fair the women took a leading part. At the village of Ajaipal, seven miles from the city, a big fair was held in commemoration of Ajaipal who had founded the city of Ajmer. The Jain community of the city celebrated their own festivals with great zeal and extravagance. The festivals of Paryaruma, Rathyatra, Jalyitra and Dipotsava were the most important in which other Hindus also took part.¹

The Muslims of Ajmer, as of other places, celebrated their two Ids - 'Id-ul-Fitar' and 'Id-ul-zuha' - with great zeal and show. They went to 'Idgah' in large number to perform their prayers. According to Waga¹ a new mosque in the 'Idgah' had been constructed during this period. For the celebration of these two festivals - 'Iedain' - in the main shrine (dargah) the Mughal rulers had granted some amount of money for distributing of robes to the khadims (~~servants~~^{religious functionaries}) and alms to the poor. The khatib who led the prayers also

1. Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive, pp. 28, 29;
Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, pp. 174, 176, 227.

received robes and money on both the occasions.¹ The festival of 'Id-Milad-ul Nabi (birth day of the Prophet) and Barafat (death anniversary of the Prophet) which falls on the same day of the same month (12 Rabi-ul Awwal) was also celebrated in the main shrine. These are not two separate festivals, as G.N. Sharma understands them, but one celebrated on the same day.² The dargah was the main centre of religious worship and activities during the celebrations of all the festivals; on these occasions the tomb and other buildings of the shrine were illuminated and thousands of people visited it to make prayers and offerings. The managing committee of the dargah spent considerable amount of money on these arrangements as well as the distribution of food and clothes among the poor and recluse who were always found in large number in the precincts of the shrine.³ It was, here that one of the greatest Muslim fair or 'Urs (the death anniversary of Khwaja Saheb) was held every year in the first week of Rajab and the celebrations continued for six days. Thousands of people came from all parts of the country and their stay in the city gave a filip to the sales of the consumer goods.

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1. Waga'-1 Sarkar Almer, pp. 56, 433; Dargah Files, No. 484.
 2. Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, pp. 176-177.
 3. Dargah File, Nos. 95, 74.

Besides the usual prayers, recitation of the holy Quran and offerings, the qawwali (audition) gatherings at nights formed the focal point of the activities. The governor of the subah took personal interest in the arrangements of the fair, and Iftekhhar Khan was present throughout the night listening ^{to} the music in the dargah.¹ In fact, the Muslims of Ajmer remained busy in celebrating the 'urs of one Chishti saint or another throughout the year, the main features of all these functions were distribution of food, sweets, recitation of Fateha and the qawwalis (spiritual music performed in the praise and honour of the saint).

The city of Ajmer was not a place famous for educational institutions; it had no college or high school to which students eager for higher learning could flock from various parts of the country. Neither the rulers nor the local Muslims made any efforts for the dissemination of secular or religious knowledge. Compared with other cities and towns of Northern India where educational institutions and academies had sprung up during the long medieval period, the city of Ajmer had no college or erudite scholar to boast, and consequently was lacking in this most important sphere of cultural activity. Here, the ideology of mysticism was

1. Waqat-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 19, 21, 26, 15, 16, 106, 180, 292.

the dominant creed which held its sway over the minds and conduct of the people. The study of philosophy, jurisprudence, hadis and grammar was discarded in favour of spiritual knowledge and mystic practices, and a great emphasis was laid on worship and devotion in the shrine where a number of sufis could always be found to inspire and teach the seekers after truth. Nevertheless, a Madrasah was founded in the mosque built by Akbar in the shrine to meet the educational requirements of the local Muslim population, particularly the children of the khadims. The Madrasah was endowed with adequate resources to make it self-supporting and relieve the staff and students of the financial worries. Aurangzeb liberally patronized the teachers and students of the school by giving land grants and daily allowances to them, as is evident from the farmans and sanads¹ issued in his reign. The contemporary literature supplies no information regarding the teachers and scholars engaged privately or in the schools of Ajmer in educational and academic activities. Only Tarikh-i Hindi, written by Rustqm Ali in the middle of the eighteenth century mentions few names of the saints and teachers, like Saiyid Hayatullah and Shaikh Sharifullah who were attached to the shrine. The Haga'-i Ajmer records that the provincial sadr

1. Asnad-us-Sanadid, pp. 233, 236, 240, 243.

2. Tarikh-i Hindi, pp. 620, 640.

could not find out a single theologian or trained teacher in Ajmer to recommend for the appointment of Preacher(wa'iz)¹ when the imperial sadr had asked him to do so. This reflects the death of educated and trained theologians and indicates the fact that the Muslims of Ajmer could not take full advantage of the educational facilities provided by the state.

In the city of Ajmer the beautiful places, mosques and gardens constructed by the Mughal Emperors - Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan - still stand and afford an excellent testimony to their remarkable interest in architecture.² Aurangzeb evinced no great passion, like his predecessors, for erecting buildings and monuments which could contribute to the development of architecture during the period of his rule. He was too busy and austere to indulge himself in this artistic fancy and devote his time and resources to the construction of forts, palaces, mosques and ^{mausoleum} ~~mausoleum~~. In addition to what had already been built no other magnificent building was constructed in this city during the reign of Aurangzeb. According to tradition a small mosque in the shrine, formerly built by the Sultan of Mandu, was enlarged

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 280.281.

2. For details of these buildings, Ajmer Through Inscriptions, pp. 26, 29, 30, 44, 50; Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive, pp. 101, 103.

and improved by the orders of the Emperor, and now it is called 'Alamgiri Masjid. It was near this mosque that the dead bodies of the two Mughal generals, Shaikh Mir and Shah Nawaz Khan, were buried and small enclosures round their graves were erected. Shaikh Mir fighting on the side of Aurangzeb and Shah Nawaz Khan on that of Dara had been killed in the battle of Deorai near Ajmer, and Aurangzeb was so deeply impressed by their bravery and loyalty that he ordered their dead bodies to be buried with honour in the shrine.¹ Saiyid Muhammad, the Saiyidah Nashin, had constructed a small mosque in simple design in the Dargah Bazar in 1692, and still its condition is good.²

The other important buildings constructed outside the shrine in the city during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign were the tombs of Saiyid Abdullah Khan, his wife and a mosque, and all these three have survived to our own times. Saiyid Abdullah Khan alias Saiyid Miyan was the father of Saiyid Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul Mulk and Husain Ali Khan who played a tremendous role in the history of the Mughal Empire during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, and are known as king-makers. Saiyid Miyan had fought several

1. Alamgir Nama, I, p. 330; Mirat-i Jahan Numa, p. 361.

2. Ajmer Through Inscriptions, pp. 55, 57.

battles in Konkan and the Deccan under the command of Ruhullah Khan, the Mir Bakhshi of Aurangzeb, and by his gallantry, dash and loyalty won the admiration and trust of the Emperor as well as the commander. He was first given the charge of the faujdari of Nandair, and then promoted to the governorship of Bijapur in 1688-89, and to the mansab of 2,500 zat. He later on became the faujdar of Ajmer where he died in 1702-3. He was buried in the city of Ajmer and a tomb was built on his grave in the same year. The tomb is made of marble and stands on the main road opposite to the railway station of Ajmer and the locality around it is named as 'Abdullah Ganj. Facing this building is the tomb of Saiyid Mian's wife, also built in the same year, i.e. 1702-3. In the simplicity of design, superb workmanship and elegance the building, though small in size is very beautiful. Mr. Garrick has remarked in his survey Report, "I found an exquisitely sculptured tomb of white marble, the perforated screens, surrounding the sarcophagus of this tomb are equal in workmanship to any thing I have seen and the marble is of the finest quality." Behind the tomb of Saiyid Mian is a mosque and some traces of a garden laid out at that time can

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1. For details of his life and career, Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp. 489-91; Waqqa'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 84-90, 387-88; Akhbarat, forty to forty six regnal year.

still be found.¹ It appears that all these three buildings and the garden had been constructed by his sons, as one of them, Saiyid Abdullah Khan, received not only the title of his father but also the faujdari of the subah of Ajmer.

The nobles and members of the Mughal aristocracy living in Ajmer constructed their palaces and laid out gardens in different parts of the city. The Waga' refers to the garden which Saiyid Ahmad Khan, the governor, had constructed at the foot of the hill north-east of Anasagar during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. It was in this garden that Tahawwar Khan had encamped after his appointment as governor of the subah. Tarbiyat Khan, another governor of the province, had also constructed a garden, and it has been located outside the Madar Gate where a big and flourishing market has now sprung up. In those days it was called Bagh Tarbiyat Khan. The Waga' mentions Bagh-i Rahmat Khan constructed in this period² but gives no details regarding its location and size. The poor people lived in huts made of clay with thatched roofs while the houses of the rich were spacious and beautiful. Round the shrine there were huts in which the khadims lived.

1. Archaeological Survey Report, 1883-84; p. 47; Ajmer Through Inscriptions, pp. 57, 58; Ajmer Historical and Descriptive, pp. 131, 132.

2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 167, 168, 202, 385, 342, 366; Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive, p. 134.

From the study of the sale deeds given in Asnad-us Sanadid it appears that there were good houses also in the area, and persons of considerable means built their houses with bricks and stones. A big palace had been erected near the shrine for the use of the royal harem, but after the birth of Prince Danyal in this building it was given as Nazar to Shaikh Danyal, a local saint, to whose prayers the birth of the Prince had been ascribed. Shaikh Danyal was from among the khadims or mulawars of the shrine, and the haveli is used by the members of his family and their descendants. The building has survived to the present day and is called Shahi Mahal¹. The cost of the construction of an ordinary house in these days amounted to nearly ten rupees. Every house had ²several rooms a veranda and a main gate.

As regards the modes of food and dress of the people of Ajmer the Waqe' contains no information which could be analysed to complete the picture of social life in this chapter of the present study. A general description of the varied forms and styles of dress and food prevailing in other parts of Rajputana has been given in the modern works and it may be

1. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p. 16; Asnad-us Sanadid, pp. 215, 225.

2. Asnad-us Sanadid, pp. 23, 25, 26, 193, 195.

applied to the inhabitants of Ajmer, too. However, the Waga' confirms the fact, as stated in other works, that the vice of using opium and bhang reigned supreme among all classes¹ of people in Ajmer.

It has already been discussed that Aurangzeb had adopted discriminatory measures against the Hindus and changed the policy of tolerance and benevolence pursued by his predecessors towards them. In 1664 Aurangzeb forbade old temples to be repaired and on 9 April 1669 he issued an order to the governors of the provinces to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels and put down their teaching and religious practices. On 2 April 1679 the jaziya was reimposed on the non-Muslims. In compliance with these imperial orders nearly sixty-six temples in the loyal state of Amber were pulled down. Similarly a large number of temples were razed to the ground in the estate of Marwar which was in the throes of deep political crisis owing to the Rathor rebellion. The temple-destruction operations were carried out vigorously throughout the province of Ajmer during this period. The agents of the Waga'-1 Nawis posted at different places reported about the successful implementation of the imperial policy.

1. Waga'-1 Sarkar Ajmer, p. 4.

According to this information the temple, demolition took place in Nagore, Sambhar, Mairtha, Didwana, Malpore, Johur, Marwar, Chatu, Tonk, Jalore and ~~so~~ many other towns. Tahir Khan, faujdar of Jodhpur, urged Diwan Ramdas Bhatti to dismantle the temples in Jodhpur as quickly as possible, because ^{not} the delay in this matter would be brooked by the government. ²

The conversion of Hindus to Islam was also encouraged, as the instances given in the Waga' are several. The Rajputs sharply reacted to this religious fanaticism displayed by the Emperor; they in retaliation demolished mosques and prevented the new converts living in villages from performing prayers in mosques and slaughtering cows and goats on occasions of festivals and marriages. ³

In the city of Ajmer there were numerous temples and Dharmshalas ^R where the Hindus freely worshiped and performed their religious functions. The Dharmshalas were also used as places of religious gatherings and devotion where Hindu preachers called Sevrahas came from different parts of the province and delivered lectures to the people assembled there

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1. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 173, 179, 180, 183, 192, 197, 203, 204, 217, 227, 228.
 2. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 303, 214.
 3. Waga'-i Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 353, 372, 468.

every year during the rainy season. The Emperor assigned the task of conducting the enquiry about the activities of these persons to the local officers such as Tawwabhar Khan, the faujdar, Abdul Razzaq, the gazi, Hafiz Muhammad Sa¹diq, darogha-i 'adalat, and Razi-ud-din, darogah-i chauki. The Waga' ¹ifhroms that temples were pulled down in the haveli of Ajmer. When the tide of hatred and violence was rising in other towns of the province, the city of Ajmer remained, however, free from co-mmunal turmoil, though the danger of external attack always loomed. The presence of the Emperor and the strong measures for security of the city prevented any manifestation of bitterness which his religious bigotry should have aroused among the local Hindus.

1. Waga'-i Sarkar Aimer, pp. 192, 193, 220.

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12.	<u>Shaabaan</u>	7 Sept. - 5 Oct.	362-389.

23 Regnal Year - 1090/91 - 1679/ 80 A.D.

1.	<u>Ramzan</u>	6 Oct. - 4 Nov.	389-401.
2.	<u>Shawwal</u>	5 Nov. - 3 Dec.	401-413.
3.	<u>Zilqaad</u>	4 Dec. - 2 Jan. 1680	413-427.
4.	<u>Zil Hijj</u>	3 Jan. - 1 Feb.	427-442.
5.	<u>Moharram</u> 1091	2 Feb. - 3 March	443-454.
6.	<u>Safar</u>	3 March - 31 March	455-474.
7.	<u>Rabi-ul Awwal</u>	1 April - 30 April	474-496.
8.	<u>Rabi-ul Saani</u>	1 May - 29 May	496-530.
9.	<u>Jamadi-ul Awwal</u>	30 May - 28 June	530-565.
10.	<u>Jamadi-ul Akhir</u>	29 June - 27 July	565-589.
11.	<u>Rajab</u>	28 July - 26 Aug.	589-615.
12.	<u>Shaaban</u>	27 Aug. - 24 Sept.	615-644.

24 Regnal Year - 1091 A.H. - 1680 A.D.

1.	<u>Ramzan</u>	25 Sept. - 24 Oct.	644-676.
2.	<u>Shawwal</u>	25 Oct. - 22 Nov.	676-698.
3.	<u>Zilqaad</u>	23 Nov. - 22 Dec.	698-705.

APPENDIX - A

CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMWORK OF THE WAQA'I

21 Regnal Year - 1089 A.H/ 1678 A.D.

S.No.	Islamic Month	Christian Month	Page No.
1.	<u>Jamadi-ul Awwal</u>	21 June to 20 July	1-10.
2.	<u>Jamadi-ul Akhir</u>	21 July-18 Aug.	11-19.
3.	<u>Rajab</u>	19 Aug.-17 Sept.	20-32.
4.	<u>Shaaban</u>	18 Sept.-16 Oct.	33-45.

22 Regnal Year - 1089/90 A.H/ 1678-79 A.D.

1.	<u>Ramzan</u>	17 Oct. - 15 Nov.	46-56.
2.	<u>Shawwal</u>	16 Nov. - 14 Dec.	56-69.
3.	<u>Zilqaad</u>	15 Dec. - 13 Jan.1679	69-85.
4.	<u>Zil Haaj</u>	14 Jan. - 11 Feb.	85-127.
5.	<u>Moharram</u> 1090	12 Feb. - 13 March	127-159.
6.	<u>Safar</u>	14 March- 11 April	159-178.
7.	<u>Rabi-ul Awwal</u>	12 April- 11 May	178-204.
8.	<u>Rabi-us Saani</u>	12 May - 9 June	204-234.
9.	<u>Jamadi-ul Awwal</u>	10 June - 9 July	234-265.
10.	<u>Jamadi-ul Akhir</u>	10 July - 7 Aug.	265-298